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Loncar Addresses CSCE Meeting in Spain 24 Sep

LD2409191790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Palma de Majorca, 24 September (TANJUG)—This is the third meeting arising out of the CSCE process. Its aim is to make economic cooperation and particularly the protection of the region's ecological system a priority in its concern for the Mediterranean. These are certainly crucial questions. At the same time, these are questions which cannot be examined outside the context of all the major changes in the world, especially those on the continent of Europe and in the framework of the CSCE. Budimir Loncar, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs, said this in his address to participants in a CSCE meeting on the Mediterranean, which has begun in Palma de Majorca.

We have had a long period during which negative events in the Mediterranean have always outpaced solutions which could have rendered them less harmful, if not eliminated them. Today it appears that the situation is the opposite: Tendencies, events, and overall developments are moving ahead more rapidly than our perceptions of how to shape and transform them into a new situation, Loncar said.

According to the federal secretary for foreign affairs, events in Europe, which are developing within the framework of the CSCE, will lead us gradually but reliably into the construction of a common home. Furthermore, it will certainly contribute to a new conception of world security and cooperation. This set of circumstances gives prominence to the Mediterranean region, without which it is difficult to imagine the completion of the European process.

Hence our goal is more than clear: to link European trends and developments with the possibilities and needs of the Mediterranean. In other words, it is precisely here that we are laying the foundation stone of a new arrangement for security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, Loncar said.

Raising the question of whether it is possible in this "complex and centrifugal mosaic" for policy in the Mediterranean area to be determined by the priority of universal human values, Loncar said:

We want to believe that it is. The radical changes in Europe and the end of the cold war are gradually changing this reality of the Mediterranean. This opens up space for completely fresh perspectives. This also means the encouragement of the aspirations of all those who, from the signing of the Helsinki Final Act until today, believe that security and cooperation in the region can be approached by the implementation of the stances contained in the "Mediterranean section."

Loncar also drew attention to the danger of the marginalization of the Mediterranean, which could have unforseeable consequences. The lack of equal development on opposite Mediterranean shores, unequal demographic development, problems of migration, debts, the protection of the environment, and other things, could—unless they are approached with a well-thought-out Mediterranean program acceptable to everyone—present a threat and cause the prospects for the creation of a regional security system to recede, Loncar said.

I believe that the generally positive orientation toward a better Europe, and this also means toward a better Mediterranean, is indeed the basic common denominator of all the interests and motives of the countries participating in ths meeting, he asserted. After all, it is precisely the CSCE which could make a contribution, at least to a certain extent, to the function of the security and cooperation mechanism, both as a general framework and as a program, Loncar stressed.

He pointed out that now is the time to revive the proposals on the introduction of measures to strengthen confidence in the region. In accordance with the model for European solutions up to this time, but adapted to Mediterranean reality, these measures could signify a small but significant step toward greater certainty as regards living together in safety. The introduction, at least, of minimal "rules of the game" would encourage the undoubted sense of Mediterranean togetherness and co-responsibility for the life and security of neighbors.

He then noted that the Mediterranean nonaligned countries identified themselves with the stance of the CSCE on the interdependence and integrity of security and cooperation of Europe and the Mediterranean. They defined this interest as early as six years ago in Malta and, later on, on the islands of Brioni, they set in motion the initiative for starting dialogue with all the Mediterranean countries in Europe in all spheres of mutual interest, Loncar said. He added that new political conditions have now emerged. European countries are willing to translate the CSCE stance on the Mediterranean into concrete forms of all-Mediterranean cooperation. The initiative of the four European Mediterranean countries for a CSCE-type conference on the Mediterranean is the best testimony of this. On the other hand, the results of the recent ministerial meeting of the Mediterranean nonaligned countries in Algeria was inspired by and directed precisely toward the materialization of this idea.

In the view of the Yugoslav head of the diplomatic service, in order for this to materialize, it is necessary to spread the intensive integrative processes from Europe toward the Mediterranean. Furthermore, it is necessary to provide new opportunities to break the vicious circle of Mediterranean crises by developing measures for the consolidation of trust, negotiating and control mechanisms, or mechanisms to resolve disputes peacefully that will be developed within the CSCE framework.

Today the Mediterranean is at that critical juncture when history has two possibilities. We are facing the open option of not only old confrontations and the fragmentation of the Mediterranean world, but of their

deepening, too. There are, however, also new prospects: cooperation which would strengthen its feeble foundations, consolidate security, and contribute to the creation of the Mediterranean's new identity.

Advocating the latter, we are fully aware that the role of the CSCE is not its only one in this regard. It could, however, be the decisive one if all its potentials were put to use, the federal secretary for foreign affairs said at today's meeting in Palma de Majorca.

Bulgaria Tells CSCE it Will Freeze Armed Forces

AU0210220490 Sofia BTA in English 2125 GMT 2 Oct 90

["Bulgaria Will Contribute to European Understanding"—BTA headline]

[Text] New York, October 2 (BTA correspondent)—Bulgaria is prepared to freeze the strength of its Armed Forces until an international agreement is reached, said Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs, speaking today at a meeting of the foreign affairs of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The chief Bulgarian diplomat declared himself in favor of an overcoming of the economic division of Europe. He supported the idea to set up a European center for the prevention of conflicts and for the settlement of disputes between states and urged for periodic ministerial meetings as part of the CSCE consultations mechanism.

Mr. Gotsev agreed to the view expressed by the United States and other countries that an agreement on conventional arms reduction in Europe should be signed at the Paris CSCE summit.

Central Europe Christian Democratic Parties Meet

LD1609213590 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Chairmen and political representatives of national and regional Christian Democratic and popular parties from Central Europe met for the first time in Bratislava today. The international conference was opened by Jan Carnogursky, first Slovak deputy prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement. He stressed the need for the concept of Central Europe to become in the new conditions a political symbol and inspirational, unifying political idea which could help to overcome national antagonism and to gradually lead the nations in this region to Europe-wide integration. Carlo Bernini, the Italian minister of transport, and Josef Riegler, the vice chancellor and chairman of the Austrian People's Party, too, spoke in this spirit.

The talks were followed by a news conference. The participating parties elected Carlo Bernini as chairman for one year and adopted a joint document, the Bratislava Declaration. They agreed to meet in accordance with need, and that their secretariat will be in Vienna.

At the close Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, gave a gala dinner for the participants in the conference.

International Symposium on Future of Europe Ends

AU2009202190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1917 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—An international symposium on the future of Europe, new formuli of security, joint projects and the human side of cooperation, was held at Bucharest on 17-20 September. The event was attended by representatives of the Romanian specialised institutions and of the institutes for international studies from Sofia, Prague, Paris, Bonn, Potsdam, Budapest, Copenhagen, Utrecht, Lisbon, Moscow, Northern Virginia (U.S.A.), Warsaw. Among the international organizations represented were the European Parliament, the European Cultural Society, the European Academy of Law, the UNESCO European Center for Higher Education.

The papers delivered and the debates examined the present situation in Europe and portrayed the changes occurring on the continent at political, economic, social and cultural levels. The participants sustained various points of view on the persistent mobility of facts in Europe and thus launched new ideas and concepts apt to theoretically guide to discovering possibilities for improvement of European cooperation and cohesion.

Alia Greets World Summit for Children

AU0110123590 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 1 Oct 90

["Message of Greetings to the World Summit for Children by Ramiz Alia, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 30 (ATA)—Albania conveys its sincere greetings to the World Summit for Children, the future of mankind. This summit is a clear indication of our good will to help improve their situation.

In recent decades, the situation of children has changed in a number of countries. Conspicuous achievements have been attained in disease prevention, reduction of the illiteracy rate, improvement of their nutrition, schooling, etc. Each and everybody rejoices over the reduction of infantile mortality rate and the increase in the children's life span. This is confirmation of what mankind can do today. At the same time, however, we are witnesses of horrible facts and grave situations which constitute a major concern and which derive from sharp disparities and contracts between the industrialised countries and the developing countries. The children do not enjoy the fruits of the technological revolution everywhere. Indeed, not infrequently we are faced with a polarisation among children of different strata of the population, and a good part of them live close to abundance but in poverty.

Be that as it is, however, we have to admit in many countries the children—the nursery of humanity, are faced almost every minute with poverty, degradation of natural and social environment, privation of most elementary rights, including the right to exist. The figures published by UNICEF, which illustrate the reality of children who live in absolute poverty, who die mainly of diseases which can be prevented, who cannot attend schools, etc., are indeed shocking. Let us not forget that children have been and still are the first victims of armed conflicts, natural calamities and family dramas.

Proceeding from the motto that the future of the country depends on the way children are brought up, Albania has considered them as the most privileged part of its society, to whom major attention is devoted by the society and the family. In tiny Albania that inherited such poverty and backwardness from the past, with a population three times as big as that of 45 years ago, whose average age is 27 years, the average life expectancy of the population reached 72.4 years in 1989 as against 38.3 years in 1938.

Guaranteeing by law and in practice the ever better protection of children and the fulfilment of their needs has always been of special importance. Albania is signatory of the convention for the protection of the rights of children—an important UN document which defines the most urgent needs, the rights, fundamental liberties of children for a dignified life.

Albania supports the United Nations endeavours for the promotion and development of children, for their well-being and other rights. Its objectives for the year 2000 for children's protection and care deserve proper attention and support. Their fulfilment calls for just, effective policies and humanitarianism.

It is an act of nobility to commit ourselves to building a better present and future for our children. Therefore, let our ideal be their happiness, let us join our efforts to accomplish this lofty humane objective.

President Alia Visits Ethnic Albanians in Boston

AU0210134290 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 2 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, who participated in the proceedings of the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly and the summit devoted to children left New York and arrived in Boston where he met with Albanian compatriots residing in the United States of America.

At the airport of New York, Comrade Ramiz Alia was seen off by the minister for foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, employees of the permanent mission of our country at the United Nations, etc. During his visit in Boston, he is escorted by the director of the International Relations Study Institute, Prof. Sofokli Lazri, the permanent representative of our country at the United Nations, Bashkim Pitarka, and others.

Gives Speech, Lays Wreath

AU0210210790

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT carries a 10-minute telephone report from Boston correspondent Alfons Gurashi describing the meetings of Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, with ethnic Albanians in the United States.

Gurashi states that Alia was met at Boston airport by representatives of the Free Albania Association, (?Gjergi Artur Leolin), bishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church, and many Albanians from various parts of the United States and Canada.

Alia is reported as laying a wreath on the grave of Fan Noli, and visiting St. George's Orthodox Church, which "serves as a cultural center and meeting place for Albanians in the United States and Canada."

Alia is also reported as giving a reception for 600 ethnic Albanians, who gave Alia a "warm and cordial welcome." In a speech at the reception, Alia is reported as expressing thanks for his welcome and praising the patriotic spirit of the Albanian community. "The Albanian community in America, Comrade Ramiz Alia said,

has been increased by our Kosovo brothers and Albanians from Montenegro, Debar, and other areas. Their love for their homeland and their patriotism is great, and will always stay alive. We have supported and will support with all our strength their struggle and efforts alongside their brothers in Kosovo for freedom, justice, equality, and self-determination." Alia is reported as praising "the opportunities for progress" the United States has given to its Albanian community, and speaking about recent changes in Albania: "We wish to build an Albania where people will be free, where people will live from their own work, and where there will be neither poor nor rich, not because we are against wealth, but because we do not wish anybody to be exploited, or to live from the sweat of others. We are not satisfied with what we have achieved, however, Comrade Alia said, for we have failings and shortcomings. We are paying a tax on the backwardness we have inherited." Alia is reported as saying that "democratization and emancipation...are a necessity for the country's progress, which the process of socialist progress itself demands. They are a not an imitation of the East and the events (?we all know about); we do not copy, and we do not imitate. We demand that our economy be relieved of excessive centralism." After mentioning the recent law on passports, Alia is reported as saying, "We are not, however, in haste, because we wish to maintain an equilibrium. Otherwise there is danger." Alia is also reported as speaking about Albania's diplomatic activity, its "ties with the United States and the Soviet Union," and the forthcoming Tirana meeting of Balkan foreign ministers. Alia is reported as concluding: "Our Fan Noli said, patriotism never grows old. Albania has you as its sons, and you have her as your mother; therefore, come to your mother whenever you like."

Alia is reported as having left Boston to return to Albania.

Accountability of Law Enforcement Officers Urged

AU0110152390 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
23 Sep 90 pp 2-3, 16

[Unattributed interview with Kico Blushi, chairman of the Tirana Sociology Unit; place and date not given: "Making it Possible To Solve Tendencies in Society"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It seems to me that we do not suffer so much from a lack of laws and regulations as from a lack of an absolute law: Whoever is responsible, must be held responsible to society, at least morally, and where necessary penally. This can best be done not only by the press, but by the mass organizations, which we rarely see fighting for the enforcement of social justice in enterprises, schools, institutions, or the districts. An article by a prosecutor in the press a few days ago struck me. He provided interesting examples of unjust verdicts and decisions on compensation in the districts. The prosecutor, however, did not provide a single example of a prosecutor or district judge being punished for an unfair trial.

We rarely see any criticism in the press of a public order officer or district police chief for exceeding his authority, because it seems to us that such a thing would "soil the name" of the internal affairs organs. It seems to me that the opposite would be true: This organ would dissociate itself in front of public opinion from the mistakes of an individual, just as the law will dissociate itself from a judge's unjust verdict. There is no reason why the state or the law should carry on its shoulders the guilt of an individual. I stress this because society mistakenly perceives a negative phenomenon: The guilt of a manager or official, who keeps himself "incommunicado," involuntary creates the impression or more precisely a social psychology among certain immature people according to which officials behave in this way "in the name of" or at least "under the wing of" someone else. A culprit must be punished, but the greater guilt belongs to someone who is appointed to enforce the law, who must be rigorous, clear-cut, determined, and just in enforcing the laws society has laid down. A vineyard watchman is more to blame than a thief, when he sees a thief and pretends not to, or still worse, when he himself assists the wrongdoer in order to profit. The struggle against abuses, corruption, malpractices, back-scratching, and undeserved privileges is now a necessity: This social evil must be fought with courage and determination, but the struggle fails to yield full results when only the thief is caught and punished, and the "watchman" is forgotten. This is a matter of social justice, a basic precondition for a fair, socialist, democratic, and humane society. [passage omitted]

Zhelev Sends Message to FRG President

AU0310093790 Sofia BTA in English 0807 GMT 3 Oct 90

["Zhelev Wishes United Germany Wonderful Future"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, has cabled greetings to Dr. Richard von Weizsacker, president of the Federal Republic of Germany, wishing united Germany a wonderful future.

Up to now the two German states symbolized the division of Europe and the Berlin Wall was an absurd synthesis cast out of concrete, fear and suffering, the cable reads.

It is emphasized that the unification of the country is a triumph of freedom, democracy and peace in Europe and the world, a triumph over ideological tyranny, over military confrontation and over hostility and suspicion between East and West.

President Zhelev Addresses UN General Assembly

AU0210191590 Sofia BTA in English 1816 GMT 2 Oct 90

["Zhelev Tells United Nations: 'Bulgaria Is No Longer Communist State'"—BTA headline]

[Text] New York, October 2 (BTA correspondent)—"Bulgaria is no longer a communist state, it is no longer a totalitarian state, but it is not yet fully democratic in so far as it has not adopted a new constitution and has not managed to build its economy on market principles," said Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, addressing the session of the United Nations General Assembly. Dr. Zhelev indicated that Bulgaria is in a transition from totalitarianism to democracy but the processes are irreversible, and the establishment of full democracy in the country is just a matter of time.

In his speech the president traced the progress of the Bulgarian opposition from the dissident movements under the Zhivkov regime through the mass anti-communist rallies in the winter and spring and to its participation in the new parliament, where the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) hold 40 per cent of all seats. Many people believe, however, that the distribution of seats in the Grand National Assembly does not reflect the actual correlation of political forces. The fact that the opposition's power base are the young people, the intellectuals and the big cities showed that it is backed by the most active part of the population, the head of state pointed out.

The successful promotion of the democratic process in Bulgaria plunged the Bulgarian Communist Party into a deep crisis, forces appeared in it which realized the need for its reform, Dr. Zhelev said, observing that the progress of democratization in Bulgaria will continue to depend on the complicated and conflicting processes which unfold now in the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party. Undoubtedly, if it manages to turn into a modern, Western- type left-wing party, this would strengthen parliamentary democracy in the country, the president believes.

Further on in his speech Dr. Zhelev outlined what has been done and what parliament has yet to enact on the economy and the social system, and he singled out the passage of legislation on interim municipal administrations which dismantles totalitarian structures at the local level, the debate of the bill on the depoliticization of the Army, the police and the security forces, the law courts, the prosecutor's offices and the diplomatic service. The depoliticization act is important for the final dismantling of the communist totalitarian system because it breaks its backbone: the merger of the Communist Party apparatus with the state, the president said. He pointed out that, apart from that, he expects the Grand National Assembly to pass a privatization act, a land act (whereby the land forcibly expropriated during the Stalinist cooperativization will be reverted to the peasants), an ownership act, a banking act, a trade act, as well as many other economic laws which will provide a legal framework for marketization.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev emphasized that without an early abolition of the state monopoly in all fields of economic life, the privatization and the agrarian reform would be impossible. He believes that the awakening people, who want to live under democracy and work in the conditions of a market economy, and the will and the energy of the democratic opposition in parliament will guarantee the implementation of the sweeping programme for economic reform.

"If I am to put in a nutshell the picture of my country at this point, I should emphasize that Bulgaria has a multiparty system, a democratically elected parliament, a parliamentary opposition which controls 40 per cent of the seats and holds political initiative, a free press, radio and television, and political pluralism in culture," the president said.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev discussed the revision of the principles, the purposes and the priorities of Bulgarian foreign policy after November 10, 1989. "We categorically reject the limited sovereignty doctrine because it violates our national independence, we reject the principle of the so-called socialist internationalism which is a thinly veiled form of subordinating Bulgarian foreign policy to the interests of a foreign power, and we have also relinquished the principle of partisanship, according to which the country's foreign policy entirely serves the interests and the ideology of a single party," Dr. Zhelev pointed out. The president said that the discarded principles have been replaced by other ones which are consistent with the interests of a democratic country: the principle of full national independence and unlimited sovereignty has been restored to enable Bulgaria to

choose on its own the orientation of its foreign policy, and the principle of partisanship has given way to all-state and all-nation interests.

Realism and pragmatism are another major principle of Bulgaria's new foreign policy, Dr. Zhelev stressed, specifying that pragmatism does not imply egotism with respect to other countries.

"Irrespective of the privations and hardships which the Bulgarian people is forced to suffer, we remain committed to our condemnation of the Iraqi invasion, to our insistence on the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait, and to a continued observance of the UN embargo. In doing so, we act from conviction and not under coercion," the president noted, pointing out that Bulgaria is probably the hardest hit country in Europe by the Gulf Crisis.

"We regard the world body's reaction to the crisis as the archetype of future planetary guarantees of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all small states around the world and as a resumption of the United Nations' original function and role but, until this becomes a firmly established reality, Bulgaria will be compelled to seek guarantees of its national independence, territorial integrity and inviolability," Dr. Zhelev observed. He noted that this problem acquires a special relevance now that the old system of military blocs and imperial relations is crumbling and the new one has yet to be completed. Bulgaria's territorial integrity is now guaranteed under the Warsaw Treaty, as well as under the bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union, but things are changing, the president said, adding that given all political realities are in a state of flux, all that is left to Bulgaria as a tangible and secure foothold is the commitment to the principles of the Bulgarian foreign policy which determine its new priorities.

The president said that the top priority for Bulgaria was to seek good and, if possible, friendly relations with the neighbouring states. Dr. Zhelev emphasized that Bulgaria is firmly resolved to end the crisis in Bulgaro-Turkish relations and, at the same time, he indicated that the desire for understanding with Turkey does not imply that Bulgaria intends to abandon its emerging closeness with other Balkan neighbours.

Among the other priorities of Bulgaria's foreign policy, Dr. Zhelev listed an opening up of the country to the outside world through the elimination of all and sundry economic and political barriers left over from the old regime, an integration with a future united Europe and a pursuit of all-round relations with the United States and the other advanced countries, a search for greater flexibility and initiative within the CSCE process and participation in the United Nations. Besides this, Bulgaria assigns priority to adapting its domestic law and new constitution to the requirements of the European Convention on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Bulgaria has already taken major steps to guarantee the rights and the freedoms of its citizens without distinction of religion and ethnicity, to bring its legislation into line with the international standards in this area in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, President Zhelev emphasized.

Meets Perez de Cuellar, Leaves New York

AU0210205490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Report by special correspondent Aleksandur Vladkov from New York]

[Excerpts] President of the Republic Zhelyu Zhelev delivered a speech today at the UN General Assembly in New York. [passage omitted] The Bulgarian president's speech was heard with interest by the participants in the present session of the UN General Assembly and the guests in the hall.

This concluded the official part of the visit of the Bulgarian president to New York and the United States. Earlier in the day, he was received by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, with whom he discussed the directions of Bulgaria's cooperation with the world organization and the place of the United Nations in international relations. Zhelyu Zhelev invited the UN secretary general to visit Bulgaria, and the invitation was accepted with pleasure.

In a few hours time, President Zhelyu Zhelev and the party accompanying him will leave for Los Angeles.

39th BSP Congress Holds Session 24 Sep

Lilov Gives Speech

AU0310082990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 90 p 4

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, at the 24 September session of the 39th BSP Congress]

[Text] First, I would like to express my, and I believe your, happiness in the fact that, so far, the congress has shown great political maturity; furthermore, that it understands very well the state in which our party finds itself. Our party now finds itself in a situation in which it must fully utilize its own intellectual and political potential, and realistically and soberly assess the problems which it faces. It appears that the congress will adopt correct decisions of a political, organizational, and cadre nature, which will contribute to our party's reorganization into a new party. Those decisions will afford further prospects for the party's development and for increasing its influence and role in our life, as well as for solving those incredibly complex, difficult, and unprecedented problems which emerge in the country's development.

I fully accept, without any qualification, the criticism directed at the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian

Socialist Party [BSP], the Presidium, its members, and at me personally as chairman of the BSP Supreme Council until now. I accept the main responsibility for the weaknesses which have been allowed, mistakes which have been made, and the insufficient results which have been achieved during the past nine months.

I understand the reason and necessity of not only accepting the criticism, but also suffering the consequences of my responsibility. This would be correct. This would even be necessary because we must learn to have a normal attitude toward those things. The party must move as a firm and powerful organism. There is no reason to be afraid or to dramatize the situation in which the party must accept its responsibility and its cadres—their personal responsibility.

Of course, I am not inclined to idealize our congress' discussion. I must be honest and say that it did not come close to the ideal that our party needs. Indeed, that was impossible. Our party has a certain image at the present stage. It is sufficiently strong and advanced in its renewal to be able to conduct a discussion at a serious level at its congress. At the same time, the discussion reflected the state of the party, something it had to do. It also reflected the level of thinking, and the state of inner-party relations, understandings, spirit, and ethics.

I think that this discussion will have great importance in further renewing and transforming our party. A valuable contribution was made during the congress. Now we know our situation better than we did before; in addition, we understand the party better than we did before the congress.

I think we could say that to a certain degree the 39th BSP Congress will become a landmark in our party's development, renewal, and transformation. In a certain aspect—regardless of how bombastic it sounds—I think that this will probably be a fateful congress for our party.

Nevertheless, I think that it is unnecessary to summarize the discussion. I think that it should be studied before any conclusions are reached. The new party leadership will act correctly if it studies it in a objective, realistic, and careful manner, without assuming lofty positions on it, but also without becoming too enchanted with it. It must realistically and precisely learn the lessons of this discussion and find the strength to discover in it both its valuable and dangerous elements.

What concerns me most is the fact that an understanding emerged in our party—especially in yesterday's discussion—which implies that the scope and seriousness of the main danger which our party faces, is underestimated. We do not adequately understand this danger.

It was categorically stated here that the danger of a split is already is far behind the party and that it was almost a scarecrow with which some people are trying to manipulate the congress and the party. I think that such an understanding is very erroneous and such an assessment—premature and dangerous.

I think that the danger of disunity; and I stress, disunity, still exists.

The party has not overcome the danger of melting like a snowball—seriously melting—which would weaken it very much from a political point of view.

The party has not even overcome the danger of disintegration.

I am concerned with the atmosphere which occasionally engulfed our discussion. It reminds me of terrible times. We must do everything possible to turn this into a rare phenomenon, until its final disappearance from party life.

I am afraid when I see that, against the background of the processes which are taking place in the country, some people do not understand how dangerous the lack of political and revolutionary unity is. I do not mean a monolithic unity. I think that the Stalinist understanding of monolithic unity is behind us. We, however, cannot act successfully on the political stage if we do not ensure the political and revolutionary unity of our party.

I am afraid when I occasionally see more political intrigues than politics in our discussion. Please excuse me for expressing this grave assessment; however, I think that our party has suffered from this illness for a long time. As a member of this party I would like to state with total responsibility that the party could pay a terrible price for demagogy, cunning, and putting private interests above the interests of the party. This could be a terrible and irreparable price.

I am concerned with the fact that a serious internal instability is one of our party's characteristics. We still have not become a new party. We correctly want to break away from all negative elements of our past thinking, policy, practice, and value system. We are still not a party which has adopted new elements in a stable manner, which allows it to use them, and to act and assess developments from new positions. Perhaps we are tired after our long time of governing, which lasted 40-45 years. Perhaps there are certain disrupted relations in our big family of 1 million members. Perhaps, there also are other reasons.

I recommend to the new leadership, however, that it be realistic when assessing the situation in which the party finds itself; that it doubles its efforts in order to help it to quickly overcome this unhealthy situation; part faster with all the factors that must be eliminated, and adopt faster the elements that should characterize it as a modern, and, I stress, renewed and united party.

I think that today we can define more precisely the task that faces us. This is the task of transforming, and, at the same time, uniting the party. This is also a transformation and unification of the party; at the same time as we turn the party into a cohesive political formation, we also turn it into a renewed and united force. Otherwise it has no chance of success.

A very serious question was posed here: What does our party need now? With great pathos—which I understand, and, to a large degree approve—the idea was defended that the party now only needs action, practical action. This is correct. I do not see how the party could avoid this even if it wanted to do so. The process of change that is taking place in Bulgaria is so dynamic and the social processes so rapid, that the party must either act or simply leave the stage and depart. There is no question about that. Now is the time of revolutions—regardless whether they are peaceful or not. Our revolution is a peaceful one. A revolution, however—as is well known—means radical acts.

Nevertheless, I would like to question this understanding, despite the fact that I see that it asserts itself in our thinking on this matter.

I do not think that the party could act properly without first correctly analyzing the problems which exist in our society and in the party itself. I do not understand how it could act in resolving those problems without the political, intellectual, and other capacities which would allow it to develop a correct idea toward the problems that exist in the society in which it acts and whose problems it will resolve. It would be a blind force which could inflict more damage rather than actively and fruitfully participating in the problems Bulgaria faces today.

I do not see how it will be possible to act if a correct assessment of the state of our society and our party is not produced. It is exceptionally important to now do this daily, because the situation changes every day. It is an incredibly dynamic situation.

I was always puzzled as a child when I used to hear the constant criticism that we do not supply materials on time and do not ensure normal academic and other time to wisely and calmly analyze our position on various matters, without any interruption. There probably are such calm times, but the present is not one of them. Today the party must be capable of correctly assessing the situation within a short period of time, otherwise others will do this, and thus the party will rapidly become a political outsider.

I also think that we will not be able to act if we underestimate the task of developing correct policy. Today—and I shall put it crudely to be better understood—there is a competition of policies in Bulgaria. Today the Bulgarian people are waiting to see which party proposes a better policy for leading the nation out of the incredibly grave and wretched situation in which it finds itself.

Thus, the conclusion I would like to propose is that, based on the congress' discussion, our party has traveled a long road since 10 November. Now it has the awareness that the correct road toward effecting a change in the party has been found.

The main issue, however, has not been resolved. The main issue at the center of the congress is whether the party can change. Will it be able to implement and conclude what was started on 10 November and at the 14th Congress?

In this context I agree that, in addition to the program of action and the actions themselves, the cadre issue emerges with great force. I would like to discuss this issue in detail. We all understand that this is a great and fateful issue. I shall refrain from commenting on it, however, because of my position in the party until now.

Nevertheless, I shall take a stand on a fundamental aspect of this issue. I must be honest and tell you that the standpoint and the slogan which were raised yesterday from this rostrum—namely, that at least two generations must leave the party and its leadership—are dangerous.

Of course, I agree with all the comrades who spoke on this issue. The report I submitted for your attention also points out the thesis that a decisive rejuvenation of our party's leadership and the party itself is necessary. Otherwise, the party has nothing to rely on.

I agree with Comrade Andrey Lukanov that a green light must be given to the younger generation. Yesterday, on 23 September 1990, he proposed a strong political formation on a premise that I am sure will remain in party history and will evoke the interest of history and the party. He urged us to relinquish our place in the party leadership so that it can be occupied by the next generation.

I propose that you leave Andrey Lukanov in the party and state leadership, despite the fact that he does not belong to the generation in question. I think that Bulgaria needs him today. The state leadership needs a man with his training, experience, and competence.

I propose that you leave Petur Mladenov in the party leadership. Today, when Bulgaria has such an acute shortage of cadres, it would be an incredible mistake to deprive the party of those two politicians.

I propose that you leave Dobri Dzhurov, the representative of the revolutionary generation, in our party. This generation must be in the party and participate in political life. It is impossible that a revolution such as our peaceful revolution, could devour its own children so quickly. Think about this issue, think responsibly about it. Not even one year has passed since 10 November.

I propose that you leave Chavdar Kyuranov, Petur Mitev, and Yordan Radichkov, who would be an asset and one of the most senior members of the leadership of any of the existing political parties in Bulgaria, in the party leadership. Any party would pay his weight in gold to have him among its members.

I beg you, however, do not propose my candidacy.

This is not a matter of emotions or improvisation, let alone a reaction to the criticism. This is a serious matter.

I think that the party now needs a leader who is more dynamic than I, a more unifying figure than I am, a less controversial and more pragmatic leader than I. Generally speaking, a better leader.

The party needs a new face. The new leader will provide this new face. The party will benefit from this. I shall rejoice from the bottom of my heart at your selection and will admire it.

I assure you that I will help the new leadership in every way that I can. I probably have many shortcomings, but you know that I have never been dishonest. Thus, the new leadership and the new leader can rely on my help. I will be next to him and will help him in everything. I will be together with you.

We must be careful, however, very careful dear comrades, that we do not get so carried away by the internal struggle for power that this struggle would prevail over the vital necessity of comradeship, as well as ideological and political confidence, unity, and readiness for action in the name of a certain goal. If our congress does not succeed in electing a new party leadership today—a leadership which has the confidence of the party and ideological, political, and comradely unity—then it will have no chance of leading the party in these incredibly difficult, extremely exhausting, and terribly tense times.

I, therefore, would appeal to you that we suppress our personal disappointments and passions. As far as I am concerned, let me assure you that I know that I will do it. Let us give the opportunity to both young and old people—provided that they are untainted, active, and dynamic comrades—to assume the party leadership and fully accomplish its renewal. Let us do everything so that the party can survive and implement its tasks.

Finally, I would like to say that now a great issue focuses our attention and stands in the center of the social processes and occasionally, in the center of our congress—the issue of responsibility.

I think that each of us must increase his political responsibility by several degrees, and—by even more degrees—his moral responsibility. Such are the times in which the party lives. The tasks it must solve are very complex. At this time and under these conditions there is no place for people who do not have the necessary political and moral responsibility. Furthermore, none of us can escape this responsibility. Time has no pity for any of us. It is only time which cannot be deceived.

Socialist Party Issues Appeal

AU0110153590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 90 p 1

["Appeal of the 39th Bulgarian Socialist Party Congress to the Members and Sympathizers of the Party and the Bulgarian People: Peace, Order, Salvation"]

[Text] Compatriots, we still have the opportunity to avoid conflict, chaos, hunger, and destruction. The question is whether we shall have enough prudence and wisdom to survive as a people and as a nation.

The winter is coming and it will be a supreme test for us all. The Grand National Assembly, president, and government must ensure three things: light, heating, and food. Even this, however, can no longer be achieved without national consensus. Those who push the people toward strikes and civic disobedience are pushing Bulgaria to the edge of the precipice. Only work has ever saved Bulgaria.

Now not even elementary order exists in the country. Lawlessness has acquired such proportions that speculators no longer hide while swindlers have accumulated fortunes with what is essentially our common, state money. This is the only "war" we must fight—against speculation and those who try to turn the unlimited political power they enjoyed until yesterday into riches.

Now our nation is deeply disunited and split. There is no rapid solution to this situation. Everyone, however, regardless of whether he belongs to the "right" or the "left," who speaks of a forceful solution to the situation, is being deceptive. Force is no solution. On the contrary, force will destroy the road toward national reconciliation and salvation for decades. The only way is to learn to live together, tolerate, and respect people with different opinions.

The issue of our historical guilt has been raised. We also consider the delay in sentencing and punishing the criminals and thieves to be intolerable. We assume our political responsibility. We, however, shall never agree to some "collective guilt" of ours. Guilt is always specific, as the guilty ones are specific persons.

We are changing, and one must be blind not to see this. Perhaps the process is going more slowly than it should, but we nevertheless are changing. Who can deny us this human right—the right to change?

Those who cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that we exist, and those who simply want to destroy us deny it. To them we say: this will not happen.

Compatriots!

The time will come when the crisis will be behind us and Bulgaria will prevail. Now, however, during those months and days our motherland will be choosing its destiny for at least the next two generations. Order or chaos? Salvation or disaster? Civic peace or civil war?

No matter how many things divide us, there are certain values which are common to us all, and in which we have no differences.

Such are the three words with which we appeal to all Bulgarians: PEACE, ORDER, SALVATION.

Paper Assesses Congress

AU0210115690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 90 p 1

[Untitled editorial]

[Text] The congress has ended and we have become different people!

The party has parted forever with the conservative understanding of monolithic unity. There was not a single topic which was not subjected to an open discussion by the delegates. The debates were prolonged and occasionally stormy. Ideas were expressed which touched upon the holiest aspects of Marxism-Leninism. Opinions which, until recently were considered heresy, were freely expressed. There was free access to the microphones, which occasionally worked overtime.

Despite the forecasts of certain opposition circles the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] did not disintegrate.

The party has parted forever with the well-used but obsolete organizational stereotypes. It has also parted with the ostentatious style, pomposity, and manipulations. The congress elected a party leadership that enjoys internal confidence and ideological, political, and comradely unity.

We can say that now we are a different party.

This multitude of ideas and opinions is a blessing!

It will certainly continue in the work of the BSP Supreme Council, in which the leaders of the various ideological currents have been invited to participate. Let bold initiatives be born there; however, let us close the door on political demagogy. Let there be a struggle to defend new solutions, but, let there not be such a struggle if it is motivated by personal interests.

Unity of action, however, is now much more important than diversity of thinking. The party proved that it is sufficiently mature and advanced in its education at the present stage. It has abolished all obsolete elements, despite the fact that this was not easy. Now we must prove that we as Socialists are advancing toward practical deeds aimed at overcoming the crisis in which not only the party but also the country finds itself. This is so because as a governing party which has received the vote of the people's approval, the BSP also is responsible for its government.

Together we can succeed!

As a political formation that is renewing itself and stays united, we are able to encounter success in this pitiless time.

Extraparliamentary Parties Form Joint Council

AU0210170590 Sofia BTA in English 1543 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Oct (BTA)—A Consultative Council of Extraparliamentary Parties was set up today under the honorary patronage of the president of the Republic. The Christian Republican Party, the National Patriotic Union, the Republican Party, the Liberal Party and the Fatherland Party take part in the council.

The initiative to establish this council meets the objective requirement of a more active and effective involvement of the extraparliamentary parties in the solution of the country's problems, said General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic, speaking at the ceremony for the presentation of the formal documents. He stressed he had been authorized by the head of state to express his approval, understanding and readiness for cooperation with the Consultative Council.

"We are in favour of a strong and coherent Bulgarian nation in the spirit of the old traditions, inextricably linked with sound Christian morals, i.e. reduced to the triad God—Motherland—Family," said Mr. Konstantin Adzharov, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Consultative Council of Extraparliamentary Parties. He stressed that the council will seek to help overcome the polarization of public opinion which stands in the way of the forces of reason's progress to national concord.

The Consultative Council of Extraparliamentary Parties will have an independent status and governing bodies. It will have the right to initiate legislation in parliament, to consult the Presidency of the Republic and to suggest to the Grand National Assembly, to the Presidency and to the competent institutions solutions to social, economic and political problems.

Security Commission Meets Interior Ministry

AU0210205390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Today the parliamentary National Security Commission held a meeting with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Minister Pencho Penev briefed the commission on the structural changes in the system of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the first results obtained from them. He set out the ministry's program as part of the program of the new government. Minister Penev pointed out that national security and public order are above party interests in their nature and importance, and that they cannot and must not depend on temporary goals related to the situation at a given moment, irrespective of which government is in power. Public consensus and a clear and consistent policy are needed on these issues, Minister Penev said.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will ensure that their work is

carried out completely in line with the legislative acts and decisions of the Grand National Assembly, with the government's program, the specific processes in the world, the region, and our country, as well as with the implementation so far of the reforms since 10 November 1989.

The approach of combining tolerance with legality was defined as one of the principal features in the ministry's concept for ensuring national security. The first test of this concept, it was said, was the guaranteeing of the normal conduct of the local authority elections, and the support of the political forces and the interim council administrations.

BSP Opposition to Government Broadcasts Attacked

AU0110090790 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 14 Sep 90 p 2

[Editorial: "Coupon for...Glasnost"]

[Text] The president was absent. Depoliticization was postponed. The advance forecasts that parliament should examine the draft law on eliminating party colors from the departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the courts, and the prosecuting service were not realized. The reason was unexpected, but possible; when it was still being discussed in the Legislative Commission, the draft law was attacked by the red deputies, who evidently were not inclined to remove their color from the ministries "depoliticized" by them. Thus, the agenda was just as plain as on the other days of the past week. An address of good wishes to the schoolchildren, a four-hour discussion on giving "glasnost" to the work of parliament, and the election of a new commission. Our citizens, hungry and deprived of their rights, expected a little more, but this is evidently beyond the powers of the rulers. The formation of a government is no easy task in any civilized country, but our Eastern European province is actually on the way to forgetting what a council of ministers means. The competent section of our society, which fought tooth and nail for power, now obsequiously offers ministerial seats to anyone who may agree to occupy them; however, there are no takers. The lure of absolution in this case arouses only melancholy. Those fasting in the political wilderness today keep their mouths closed, because they hear, in "sweatmeat" offered them, the ominous ticking of the devilish machine set in motion 40 years ago.

In fact, behind-the-scenes activities, which have played the main role in our political theater for so many years, appeared on the front stage yesterday to demonstrate to us that the idea of glasnost is only one of the regular "straight flushes" of the political cardplayers who have had four decades to perfect their skills. The short period left before the municipal elections is probably stimulating the enterprise of those who are losing their positions, and who prefer to draw the curtains and pass legislation with the lights out. Direct television transmissions seem to the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] deputies like a second Chernobyl. Burned by the frostbite of their own lack of constructiveness in the political debates, they prefer to cultivate their postulates in the warmth of the hothouse to deliver them in a finely-ground and "depoliticized" state to the audience of millions. The perestroyka-type preelection declarations about glasnost, skillfully and swiftly transplanted from Soviet territory, have given way to fears of unrehearsed appearances in front of the television cameras. Thus, after issuing the ration coupons for sugar, olive oil, and cheese, the Red administration tirelessly also offers a coupon for...glasnost. They forget or deliberately ignore two basic rules: the citizens' fundamental right to information (protected by all international conventions), and the electors' right to monitor the work of their deputies. Nevertheless, the three-hour debate on the question produced almost nothing new: The live radio relays remain in force "for the moment," while the television will broadcast transmissions only after the bureau of the Grand National Assembly has agreed this with the main political forces. It seems that the television reports will have to satisfy the "supraparty" tastes of the majority. The success which they could not achieve on the parliamentary piste gives the holders of the state keys to government to use one of their innumerable skeleton keys. In this case the solution is simple: Not a single individual who is curious to penetrate the "secrets" of the parliamentary kitchen will escape the switching off of the electric current.

It is a pity that, at this hungry and fuelless time, we are unlikely to be able to hear the report of the commission on the political and economic crisis, led by Mr. Petur Kornazhev, which was elected on 13 September.

The unsuccessful attempt to introduce ration coupons for glasnost reminds us of the week in which the phoenix again failed to take flight toward hope.

Newspaper Censured for Breaching Electoral Law

AU0210220590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] We have received an announcement from the Central Electoral Commission which states that Issue No. 179 of the DUMA newspaper, dated 29 September 1990, contains an article entitled "Young, Clever, Competent Technocrat Fights for a Seat in Parliament." This article contravenes Article 51 of the Law on Elections for a Grand National Assembly, because it includes election campaign agitation and makes forecasts of election results on the day before the election.

In this connection, the Central Electoral Commission draws the attention of the mass media to the need to strictly observe the Law on Elections for a Grand National Assembly.

[Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian on 29 September, page 3, carries the aforementioned article by Dimitrana

Aleksandrova on Ilko Iliev, the Socialist Party candidate in the by-election for the 92d Velingrad Constituency; the article includes a public opinion poll prediction that he would get 51 percent of the votes]

Socialists Want TV Management To Resign

AU0210220390 Sofia BTA in English 2127 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, October 2 (BTA)—"The incumbent management of Bulgarian Television has usurped the most powerful national media organisation and gradually but purposefully has subordinated it to its political and ideological bias. For months on end, a number of TV programmes have been inciting hatred for the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] ever more clearly and insistently," says a declaration of the BSP leadership in a declaration released this evening.

The declaration expresses the view that the latest edition of the news and views show "Every Sunday" (the most popular TV programme, according to audience survey) has finally acquired the character of an open war against the Socialist Party.

The BSP leadership insists on the immediate resignation of the management of Bulgarian television. This management now includes some of the most popular TV personalities: Mr. Kevork Kevorkyan, Mr. Ivan Garelov and Mr. Ivan Konstantinov. Mr. Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee for Television, was forced to resign by the students' sit-in in June, but his resignation has yet to be considered in parliament.

Red Star Dismantled on Sofia Party Building

AU0310103190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Work has begun in Sofia on dismantling the large red star on the headquarters building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The red star has dominated the town for 40 years because it is situated on the top of a column which is dozens of meters high.

The decision to dismantle the star was made by the Presidency of the Supreme Party Council, thus implementing a congress decision on new party symbols which no longer include the red star.

Lukanov Visits Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant

AU0310075390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Today Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov made a working visit to the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

After seeing the No.5 generating unit in operation, he talked to the operating staff about certain problems related to their working and living conditions. He then visited the main installations of the second 1000-megawatt reactor, where the precommissioning program is now being carried out.

At a meeting with leaders of the nuclear power plant, the construction and installation organizations, and representatives of the trade union organizations, the participants examined problems connected with the commissioning of the No. 6 generator, laying primary emphasis upon issues of nuclear and radiation safety. Stress was laid on the priority of these issues and the requirement not to permit compromises in relation to the basic principles of security and safe operation. The connection of this unit to the energy system is of major importance for ensuring the country's electricity supplies and will provide relative stability, despite the objective difficulties relating to payment for and the import of energy resources. It is planned to bring the unit into operation at the start of 1991.

Workers Claim Sixth Reactor Unsafe

AU0310095690 Sofia BTA in English 0918 GMT 3 Oct 90

["Kozloduy Reactor 6 Unsafe, Workers Claim"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—"We don't want another Chernobyl," write the workers at generating units Nos. 5 and 6 of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power plant in an open letter carried in today's "TRUD". They claim that the start up of unit No. 6 would be tantamount to a crime.

Yesterday Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov visited the power plant and told a news conference later in the day that with the shortage of liquid fuel, the going into operation of generating unit No. 6 at Kozloduy is a way out of the energy crisis. Trouble is, he says, that despite the high pay, the facility is understaffed.

In their open letter the workers at units 5 and 6 advance another argument: "At unit 6, the systems keep being cleared for operation with reservations on faults which are not repaired. The faults discovered in the clearance of unit 5 have not been repaired, either. The radioactive waste storage facility extension has not been completed for lack of reagents, chemicals and electric motors."

So far the start-up preparations at unit 6, where the fewer than-required workers work overtime, have not involved nuclear fuel in the reactor, and the only risk was to damage the expensive equipment. "After the nuclear fuel is loaded, however, the work already involves an explosion hazard," the authors of the letter emphasize. They are categorical that under the circumstances, it would be a crime to start up unit 6. "We don't want another Chernobyl," they write at the close of their letter.

General Gasoline Sales Halted in Razgrad Oblast

AU0210181990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] The sale of gasoline for all types of vehicles, both private and state-owned, was stopped in Razgrad Oblast today, our correspondent Silvio Stefanov reports.

The petroleum company in Ruse reached this decision because of the halt in supplies from the Burgas Petrochemical Combine. The decision was made with the consent of the Petroleum State Company in Sofia and the oblast and municipal People's Councils.

Emergency reserves have been set up at the gasoline stations. These will be used only for fueling specified vehicles used for food deliveries, health care, and public security, and the gasoline will only be supplied against special ration coupons, allowing 20 liters of gasoline a day. In addition, vehicles from other parts of the country which are now in Razgrad Oblast will be supplied with a single delivery of 20 liters of fuel apiece.

The are no real prospects of these emergency regulations being changed in the near future because, according to the management of the Petroleum Company in Ruse, production at the Burgas Petrochemical Combine has stopped, and the same fate awaits the other oblasts.

Council of Ministers Discusses New Decree

AU2809200190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers held a meeting today, at which it discussed a new decree related to the practical application of an indexation system for the population's incomes.

The decree was examined by the new government and by its new advisers. An indexation of the population's incomes is expected in order to compensate for the increase of consumer goods prices and is scheduled to be introduced as of 1 September 1990.

The indexation system will be based on the consumer goods prices of June 1990 and on current minimum wages and pensions in the country.

The establishment of a social council for the indexation of incomes in the country is planned. It will be composed of representatives from state organs, trade unions, employers, consumers, and independent experts.

I will add some more details to inform you on the decree:

Gross wages paid on the basis of labor contracts are subject to the indexation. [passage indistinct]

As it was announced, the state budget will provide approximately 25 percent of the resources for the indexation, meaning the amount for civil servants, while all other indexation resources will be provided by the relevant enterprises. Indexation for all special allowances will be also provided by the state.

The meeting also discussed a Council of Ministers' decision on the country's energy supply for the forthcoming autumn winter season. As result of the recent gasoline shortage, the most rational distribution of the gasoline resources requires the introduction of a rationing system on the basis of 40 liters per rationing card. It will be introduced as of 15 October 1990 for private automobile owners, applying also to private taxi drivers. The question of a possible increase of gasoline distributions for (?individuals) who are members of certain organizations, but under the conditions that taxes will be increased for them, was additionally discussed.

Restrictions on gasoline consumption are also expected to be imposed on a number of production plants and state enterprises. These shall not apply to city transport, to emergency vehicles, to the service vehicles belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Traffic Department and to the vehicles of other organizations with special tasks.

A temporary rationing system is expected to be introduced for diesel vehicles in the sphere of municipal and everyday life services valid from 1 October 1990 to 31 March 1991.

Trade Union Executive Committee Issues Declaration

AU0110103590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 24 Sep 90 p 1

["Declaration of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions on the Political Situation in the Country and the New Government"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions expresses its dissatisfaction with the fact that, regardless of the declarations, the political forces did not reach a consensus for forming a government of national confidence and responsibility. We think that the president's idea to form a program government could stimulate democratic changes, the transition of our economy toward the market principle, and the overcoming of the disastrous situation in which Bulgaria finds itself today.

We acknowledge the legitimacy of the government elected by the Grand National Assembly and declare that, in our attitude toward the government, we shall adhere to the rules of constructive opposition. In our relations with the government, we shall be led by the principle of social partnership, which has proved its rationality in the practice of civilized countries. We declare that we shall support every step of the government which truly aims at improving the economy, reviving market measures against unemployment, and supplying the population during the winter season.

We would also like to point out that we shall oppose the attempts to transfer the burden of the crisis only on the workers. We shall not allow any compromises if agreements are not implemented and shall defend the interests of the working people from the position of social partners and opponents.

The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions will express its specific attitude toward the governmental program after this program is published. We remind that the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions has alternative opinions and programs on the most important issues of economic and social policy. We are prepared to discuss them with the political forces, the parliamentary commissions, and the government, and thus facilitate the implementation of a radical economic reform.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions

Lukanov Firm on TU Pressure on Indexing Wages

AU0210175390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Today Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov resumed his regular meetings with Bulgarian journalists and foreign correspondents. He stated that the most topical issues at the moment were questions connected with the economy, the preparation of the government's program, and the events in Bulgaria's foreign political relations.

Without first making his usual statement, Andrey Lukanov immediately invited questions on the aforementioned main topics. The first question was on his assessment of the extremely radical views contained in the program drawn up and already presented by the group of U.S. experts led by Dr. Richard Rahn. The prime minister praised the program highly and described it as very professional, adding that the individual ideas were logically interrelated. At the same time, he said that it posed certain controversial issues, in view of the specific Bulgarian realities. Tomorrow, a meeting will be held between the U.S. and Bulgarian experts, who have been working together, to further elucidate these issues.

The present cabinet will not give way to pressure from anyone, nor to any ultimatums, but will show further firmness—Andrey Lukanov stated this more than once at today's news conference, particularly with reference to the trade union pressure exerted concerning the date of the introduction of indexation. The government will abide by the trilateral agreement signed on this issue, despite the fact that the approach to indexation in recent years has not been applied in international practice, but the Bulgarian conditions are quite characteristic, he stated. Andrey Lukanov stressed that the negotiations planned for the middle of October with the IMF are especially important, both regarding this issue and in relation to the general state of Bulgaria.

Correction to TU on Broken Wage Promises

AU0210120490

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "TU Accuses Government of Breaking Wage Promises," published in the 2 October East Europe Daily Report on page 7.

Page 7, item's sourceline should read "AU0210085890 Sofia BTA in English 2207 GMT 1 Oct 90" (correcting date.)

People's Party Discusses Candidates for Chairman

LD3009130190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Jaroslav Rektor in Zdar nad Sazavou on the Extraordinary Czechoslovak People's Party Congress]

[Text] After a lengthy and often confusing discussion on draft statutes, election rules, and the party central committee's composition there has been a change for the better in the congress deliberations. Eight candidates for party chairman—including the present chairman, Josef Bartoncik, and former Federal Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher—have introduced themselves to the delegates. In addition, in an allocated time limit they presented their vision of the mission and role of a modern Christian party which, in the present spectrum of political forces in our country should have a position of constructive opposition.

Despite the fact that individual speeches have naturally differed in their contents, all the candidates have nevertheless agreed on the fact that our society needs a strong right-wing party. It also needs it—as one of the candidates said—because the present internal political developments in our country do not correspond to the original visions the Czechoslovak People's Party when it went into the parliamentary elections and its expectations of the strongest political force in the country—the Civic Forum.

The results of the elections for Czechoslavak People's Party chairman and deputy chairman will be known this afternoon.

Josef Lux Elected Chairman

LD3009163390 Prague CTK in English 1441 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Zdar Nad Sazavou, South Moravia, Sept 30 (CTK)—Josef Lux, 37, was elected chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party at its extraordinary congress here today.

Lux is a deputy to the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly (Czechoslovak parliament) in which he is a member of the Commission for Agriculture and the Environment.

He was born at Chocen, East Bohemia, and before his election to parliament had been deputy chairman of a cooperative farm at Zalsi. In the party he had been deputy chairman of the district committee at Usti Nad Orlici in East Bohemia. He is close to reform streams in the party.

Josef Lux is married and has six children.

He was one of eight candidates for party chairmanship who included former Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik and former Interior Minister Richard Sacher.

Impact of Split in People's Party Examined

AU3009143090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Sep 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Sacher Versus Bartoncik; Will the People's Party Regain Influence on Czech Politics?"]

[Text] The process of differentiation or, rather, splitting individual political parties and civic movements has not steered clear even of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], a party that was harmed even before the parliamentary elections by the affair of its chairman, Dr. Josef Bartoncik. At the end of this week, the People's Party will hold its congress, which should decide not only the political fate of its present chairman but also what consequences this fate will have for the party's chances of regaining its standing in, and influence on, Czech politics.

The internal party struggle before Saturday's [29 September] congress has been brought to a head by Dr. Richard Sacher who, in a public statement for CTK, described it as a grave political mistake that the CSL Central Committee had restored Dr. Bartoncik to the post of party chairman. In the opinion of the former federal minister of interior, Mr. Bartoncik never consciously harmed anyone but has, in fact, done damage to his party because he did not see in time that he had become a burden for the party, "dragging it to the bottom of political life." Sacher's public criticism also reproaches the daily, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, for having stopped being an instrument of the party and having become a means for communicating the views of Dr. Bartoncik and Dr. Jiri Cerny, the party's secretary general.

The two addressees of this criticism did not fail to comment on Sacher's statement. They objected to the fact that he had published it in the nonparty press and included him among those engaged in a campaign directed against the People's Party. They did not fail to qualify his conduct as an attempt to gain positions before the upcoming party congress. Bartoncik's faction considers Dr. Sacher to be an advocate of Civic Forum and it even criticizes him for his failure, during his term as minister, to take to task his deputy, Jan Ruml, who was responsible for the coming to a head of the Bartoncik affair immediately before the parliamentary elections.

Even though Dr. Bartoncik bases his aspirations [for party leadership] on his stronghold in South Moravia—where the CSL is solidly represented—his confrontation with Dr. Sacher does not have to have a good ending for either one of them. A more acceptable scenario of internal party development [than the victory of either Bartoncik or Sacher] would be the assertion of the reformist current of Augustin Navratil, the man who, still under the totalitarian regime, initiated the signature-gathering campaign for the "31 Points of Moravian Catholics." This alternative would also open the doors to the consolidation of the alliance between the CSL and the Christian Democratic Party, which considers Dr. Bartoncik to be the main obstacle to a joint course of action.

Sixth Joint Parliamentary Session Continues

AU3009171190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Sep 90 pp 1, 8

["(ha,st)"-signed report: "Parliament Was Busy Again"]

[Text] The change to the constitutional law, by which Article Six was deleted from the CSFR Constitution and the report on legal measures taken by the Federal Assembly Presidium regarding the widening of the range of offices filled by appointment, the administration of the property entrusted to state enterprises and the property of political parties, movements, and social organizations, were discussed at the continuing sixth joint session of the CSFR Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations yesterday. The establishment of an important parliamentary commission was on the agenda as well.

At the outset, the deputies dealt with the need to further intensify their work and to shorten the [originally projected] five-week legislative rhythm to four weeks, for the economic reform to start on time. They elected Jozef Baksay as new member of the Federal Assembly Presidium. They also decided that Article Six of the Constitution, dealing with the National Front, be deleted. This change was compelled by the new social development based on political plurality, as well as by the confirmation of the status quo, since the National Front ceased to exist by its own decision of 7 February 1990. The settlement regarding the property which was under its management and claims ensuing from the employment relations will be settled by the federal and national governments.

The first dispute arose during the approval of the legal measure regarding the widening of the range of offices filled by appointment. Deputy Jaroslav Jeneral pointed to the possibility of this provision being misused in practice. The procedural rules did not permit a discussion, however. Despite the fact that communist deputies did not support this measure, it passed by a majority of votes. The other legal measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium of 30 August passed unanimously.

The significance of agriculture and its specifics called for the establishment of a permanent agricultural commission of both chambers, which was approved as the next item. It will deal with the progress of the economic reform in agriculture and food industry, and with structural changes, privatization, and transition to market forms in particular. It is also supposed to supervise the quality of the food chain and of the environment, and to deal with the general problems of the countryside.

Deputy Ladislav Lis then analyzed the newly proposed content of work and composition of the commission dealing with the events of 17 November. He stressed that in order to finally learn the truth, the commission must be established as an investigating commission with enhanced powers. It should work very flexibly. Students will be represented in it only by students who are deputies. The discussion lasting for more than two hours then concentrated on the question of whether a communist deputy has the moral right to be a candidate for this commission. Slightly out of context, a suggestion was made that Deputy Vasil Mohorita be recalled from the Federal Assembly Presidium.

Rudolf Battek, Federal Assembly deputy chairman, added to this subject that it would be necessary to discuss this proposal in the Federal Assembly Presidium first and to present it then to the Chamber of People, of which Vasil Mohorita is a member, for a debate.

After a dispute about the commission's name, which finally reads "Parliamentary Investigating Commission Into the 17 November Events in Prague," the plenary meeting approved a supplement whereby "only a deputy who signs an affidavit that he has never been a State Security collaborator and that he approves of the investigation in that matter can become its member." It decided on the composition of the 16-member commission, in which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will also have a representative.

Furthermore, the parliament established its own commission for monitoring the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory. The commission follows up on the work of the former commission of deputies, the task of which was to monitor the fulfillment of the obligations ensuing from the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement of 26 February 1990. It is also supposed to initiate solutions to property rights, humanitarian and ecologic problems connected with the completion of the second and third stages of the withdrawal, and historical questions as well.

As usual, a significant portion of time was also devoted to interpellations, suggestions, and questions. Deputy Michal Maly, for example, recommended that the Federal Government fix the maximum admissible price for the Favorit passenger car, which is inordinate already. Deputy Dana Nemcova interceded in favor of creating the conditions for a free travel and small cross-border traffic between the CSFR and Poland. A negative standpoint on the issue of opening the Czechoslovak-Polish borders, mainly from the economic point of view, was taken by a number of deputies, from Ostrava region and Orava in particular, where they have sad experience with the buying out of shops by Polish "tourists."

The autumn session of parliament did not end yesterday. Yesterday evening the sixth joint meeting of both chambers was adjourned for 1 and 2 October. This may hopefully be sufficient time for the deputies to realize that rationality and flexibility of their work is only very little helped by situations (and there were plenty of them this week) in which voting is governed by chaos rather than by the rules of procedure and when the deputies must be threatened with television coverage to even take their seats in their benches.

Havel Warns Against 'Global Disgust With Power'

LD3010201390 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 30 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel said in his regular Sunday radio address today that after the years of totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia people apparently think that democracy means licence.

"Over the years of totalitarianism we learned to hate the state because it became synonymous with totalitarian power for us. We stopped being concerned about the interests of the state, thinking about state power.... all this had one negative result. It aroused global disgust with power in us."

"We must counter the danger of global disgust with any power", the president said adding that in a modern civilized world the life of the human community can be organized only in the form of states.

If someone exercises power poorly, we can elect someone else in elections. But we elected one person and cannot say the next day that he is bad. By saying this we say that we made a bad choice, the president said and added that if a government was formed on the basis of elections it must be accepted that it is a government which knows what it is doing and it must be respected.

Havel Interviewed on Political Developments

LD3009163590

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1315 GMT on 30 September carries a 30-minute interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by editor Jiri Vejvoda, recorded in Prague Castle on 28 September.

Vejvoda opens the interview by asing Havel about his audience with the pope. Havel describes the friendly atmosphere of the half-hour audience during which he spoke in Czech and John Paul II in Polish. Havel points out that the pope told him about his every day prayer for Czechoslovakia.

Havel goes on to speak about his meeting with Fiat President Agnelli during which they agreed on a specific form of cooperation, above all in helping the military industry factories in Slovakia with the process of conversion.

Havel mentions that a meeting with Moravia was planned to take place in Capri but Moravia was then already seriously ill.

Vejvoda asks Havel about the Kromeriz meeting of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak premiers and Havel stresses how important it was that the meeting showed that the state leadership has clear ideas as well as the will to implement them. It is the only way to tackle the atmosphere of anxiety and impatience at the present transient period.

Havel speaks about getting letters, two-thirds of which complain that not enough is being done to change the situation and that former bosses are regaining their confidence again. This is why it is so important that the government shows that it knows what its aims are. Havel recalls his [27 September] television address about the Kromeriz meeting in which he admitted he had a different view regarding one paragraph of the privatization law. Describing the deliberations in Kromeriz, Havel points out the need to implement the decision by the governments, despite individuals preserving their different views. Once the government is democratically elected its decisions must be respected. The important thing is to begin with the spedy implementation of small-scale privatizations. Havel explains that he did not adopt his view regarding how to carry out auctions for small-scale privatizations because of recent strikes and goes on to say that he is not the man to change his views because of some random pressures.

Vejvoda points out how, during his television address, Havel admitted having a different view from the one adopted at the Kromeriz meeting. Havel notes that the right to have a different view and at the same time the obligation to observe adopted agreements are natural elements of a working democratic system.

Asked about different attitudes to democracy, Havel notes that everybody speaks about democracy these days but it seems that not everyone knows what democracy is. He stresses that the parliament was freely elected in the elections in which 36 per cent of population took part. Therefore we have to respect the parliament's decisions and implement them. Havel goes on to say that many people still mistake democracy for chaos and stresses how important for working democracy the element of responsibility is. He points out that in the course of the past 40 years people learned to hate the state power and deeply mistrust it. Therefore, we now have the feeling that we will be the best democrats if we criticize those in power at all costs, often unjustly, simply out of the principle of opposing the state power, forgetting that the present leadership was elected in free elections. That is why, in this situation, we need a strong leadership more than anything else and why the Civic Forum as the winner of the elections in the Czech lands should strengthen its policy and clarify its plans further. We have to combat the danger of an all-embracing mistrust of any kind of power. In a democratic state there is always the possibility of voting for another candidate in the next elections if the present one is not acting in harmony with our interests.

Asked about his proposals to abolish 30 old state orders and awards, Havel explains that at the same time he has proposed the introduction of two new orders because every state has this method of acknowledging someone's contributions. Havel points out his disappointment about how long it is taking for the parliament to discuss this proposal, especially if there are so many other pressing issues.

Vejvoda asks Havel about Milan Simecka who died suddenly a few days ago and Havel describes him as a

good friend and emphasizes how much his death reminded him about the transient nature of human life.

Meciar Publicly Rejects Calfa's Criticism

AU3009170590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 90 p 1

["(gc)"-signed report: "He Allegedly Violated Agreements"]

[Text] Bratislava—Shortly after Tuesday's [18 September] Slovak Republic Government session, V. Meciar gave the journalists his opinion on V. Havel's and M. Calfa's speeches at Monday's [17 September] Federal Assembly meeting.

He stated, inter alia, that Havel's standpoints were accepted by the Slovak Republic Government with delight. He said further that in some points of his speech, pertaining to transportation and communications in particular, Premier Marian Calfa violated in a certain manner the agreements reached in Piestany. "I cannot agree," V. Meciar stressed in this connection, "that the Slovak Government did something one-sidedly." He mentioned that its initiative ensues, among other things, from the fact that it worked out on some questions in greater depth as it has been working on them for a longer time. He stressed that the Slovak policy is an inseparable part of the Czechoslovak policy and no one can be angry if the Slovak Republic Government shows initiative in the direction of nation-wide policy.

Discount Rate Raised From 5 to 7 Percent

AU3009211490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Sep 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Announcement of the Czechoslovak State Bank"]

[Excerpts] The discount rate (the interest rate on short-term credits granted by the Czechoslovak State Bank to [other] banks) will be raised from five to seven percent as of 1 October 1990.

Effective the same date, the admissible deviation from the discount rate which fixes the upper limit on the rate of interest for business credits [uvery na podnikatelskou cinnost] extended by banks and saving banks to legal persons as well as physical persons (citizens) is being set at six percent (the highest admissible rate of interest on these credits will thus be 13 percent). [passage omitted]

Effective 1 October, the Czechoslovak State Bank also abolishes the gradational deviations from the discount rate which used to fix the limits on interest on deposits of legal persons. [passage omitted] Deviations from the discount rate setting a limit on interest which banks may offer for deposits of legal persons will no longer be applied. [passage omitted]

Public Against Violence, Civic Forum Leaders Meet

LD3010192990 Prague CTK in English 1837 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Tatranska Lomnica, Slovakia, Sept 30 (CTK)—Representatives of the Public Against Violence movement (VPN), which won last June's elections in Slovakia and formed the Czechoslovak Government together with the Civic Forum movement in the Czech republic, held a conference on its internal situation and state issues here at the weekend.

It was attended by the movement's deputies to the Federal Assembly (Czechoslovak parliament), the Slovak National Council (Slovak parliament) and members of the Federal and Slovak governments. They included parliament President Alexander Dubcek, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar.

Mr. Calfa told journalists that the discussion concerned many questions, especially the future of Slovakia within the Federal Republic. Also the economic reform was discussed, the division of powers between the Federal authorities and the two national republics.

Slovak Premier Meciar described talks held this summer by the Federal and the two national governments as a landmark in political life defining the relations between the two republics in the common Federation. Working groups set up on the results of these talks are now winding up their work and legislation is being drafted on its basis to amend legislation passed by the Federal Assembly. These drafts will be submitted by the Czech and Slovak National Councils (Czech and Slovak parliaments). Failure to approve this legislation could give rise to a serious political crisis, Meciar said.

He added that the stands of the Slovak Government are dictated by the needs of development of the Slovak republic, a development within the Federation which must be without political shocks. If political stability is not achieved and social shocks increase, the situation will get out of control.

He said that in the past it was unusual if initiatives came from Slovakia but this will now be a permanent method of work until new constitutions have been adopted.

Commentary on Slovak Distrust of Federal Government

AU3009204590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Sep 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Preference for the Czech Premier; Prior to the Second Stock-Taking at Kromeriz"]

[Text] Representatives of the three governments will meet at Kromeriz tomorrow in order to take stock of what has been done in the two weeks since their joint session at Piestany. Despite the optimistic statements made then by the Czech and Slovak premiers, the polemics over the definition of the sphere of competence

of the federation and of the legal powers of the national governments continue with undiminished intensity. Fuel to the flames has been added, in a way, also by the [17 September speech of the] federal premier in parliament when he attacked some Slovak initiatives.

A typical example of the dispute between the Federal Government and the republican ministries over the division of the spheres of competence is provided by the preparation of the bill on employment that is to be submitted to the Federal Assembly on 25 October. The Federal Government's version of the bill has its alternatives in the form of objections of principle from the side of the Czech Government and in the form of an alternate draft law drawn up by the Slovak Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. In the opinion of the two republican ministries, the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs should, in accordance with the constitutional law, enshrine in law merely the principles of employment policy, but the legislative initiative in the sphere of the establishment of the institutions of the labor market—especially labor exchanges—should belong to the jurisdiction of the republics. Such a course of action stems from the objective need to consistently proceed from the problems of employment policy that are specific to the structure of the economies of the two national republics.

The agenda of the stock-taking at Kromeriz will include, however, more serious matters than the above problem concerning the employment bill. Federal Premier Marian Calfa, with substantial support from Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky, has so far not given up the idea of a "tight" federation, which suits the Czechoslovakist views arising from Civic Forum circles but is inconsistent with the philosophy of [the meeting of the three governments at] Trencianske Teplice where the decision was made that all future discussions on the constitutional arrangement of the Czechoslovak Federation would use as their point of departure the sovereignty of the two national republics as the primary state-legal factor.

Although the Federal Government will be an equal partner in the talks of Kromeriz, its representatives should not miss the point that the future setup of the federation will be determined primarily by the Czech and Slovak representatives representing the governments of the national republics. It needs to be added that the Slovak political public has greater confidence in [Czech] Premier Petr Pithart than in all the federal constitutional institutions together.

Slovak Democratic Party's New Chairman Interviewed

LD3009192190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] As we have reported, the fourth congress of the Democratic Party of Slovakia took place in Zilina yesterday and today [29-30 September]. Journalists were absent from most of the deliberations. Today, at the end of the congress, the new Democratic Party chairman, Jan Holcik, granted an interview to editor Marian Hudec.

[Begin recording] [Hudec] Mr. Chairman, the fourth congress of the Democratic Party was to resolve the question of the party presidium, which was to be rejuvenated. To what extent did the congress manage to do this?

[Holcik] The party chairman was replaced and practically all district officials in the whole of Slovakia were replaced.

[Hudec] Will the Democratic Party remain in the governmental coalition? If so, how will it implement the policy of the Slovak Government?

[Holcik] In no case did we consider the Democratic Party leaving the coalition. We wish to significantly contribute to the restructuring of our industry, to consistently implement all resolutions which were agreed in Trencianske Teplice and during the meeting of the three governments in Piestany, to ensure denationalization of our industry by means of transfers to joint stock companies, and to thoroughly implement privatization as soon as possible. [end recording]

Carnogursky Does Not Rule Out KDH's Radicalization

AU3009202090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Sep 90 p 13

[Report on a speech by Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier of the Slovak Republic and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, in Banska Stiavnica; date not given: "The Christian Democratic Movement Is Getting Ready for its Congress"—reprinted from the 25 September issue of SLOVENSKY DENNIK, daily of the Christian Democratic Movement]

[Text] We are forgetting, somehow, that we are, first and foremost, Christians. Even though we do not as yet play the decisive role on the political stage, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is the most consolidated political party in Slovakia—in defiance of the fact that unanimity of views on all burning problems does not exist within its ranks. To a certain extent, it is precisely this fact which guarantees the movement's flexibility and ability to act because, in the end, it always manages to find the most practicable solution.

Should the conclusions from Trencianske Teplice [where the three governments decided to transfer powers from the federation to the republics] not be implemented, then not only the KDH but the whole Slovak Government and political representation would have to reconsider their stance on the status of Slovakia as a state.

The KDH chairman also drew attention to the present crisis and imminent split within the Slovak National Party, precisely because of its too radical stance on the Slovak national question, a stance that is not sufficiently crystallized and does not even have sufficient backing from the broad members base. A certain restraint on the part of the KDH as regards a more radical formulation of its program, especially on the national question, does not result from the fact that the KDH rules out such a [more radical] stance. However, it wants to adopt it only once

a sufficiently broad members base is established within the movement in favor of such stance.

Train Shortage Slows Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD3009185790 Prague CTK in English 1705 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Cierna Nad Tisou, East Slovakia, Sept 30 (CTK)—Over 50 per cent of Soviet troops and civilians, 70 per cent of tanks and artillery and 80 per cent of aircraft have been withdrawn from Czechoslovakia under an agreement for full withdrawal by the end of next year.

The speed of the withdrawal is limited by the lack of trains on the Soviet side so that only one to two trains can be dispatched every twelve hours, a railway official has told CTK.

The Soviet Union had 73,500 troops in Czechoslovakia when the pullout began on February 26.

Republican Party Campaigns for Ruthenia Annexation

AU3009173190 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 25 Sep 90 p 1

["jg"-signed report: "If I Only Had His Worries (and Rothschild's Money!)"]

[Text] Dr. Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, returned from a trip to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic a few days ago. After his arrival at Ruzyne Airport he declared that he was returning from Carpathian Ruthenia, or Transcarpathian Ukraine, where—in the city of Mukachevo—he hoisted the Czechoslovak national flag....

"Carpathian Ruthenia is to this day a constituent part of our republic because all legal acts carried out after World War II are invalid," said Dr. Sladek, who is of the opinion that this part of the present USSR should become part of our country again.

The Republicans have far-reaching plans in this regard. For example, they want to organize in our country a World Ruthenian Congress where the Ruthenians themselves should decide whether they want to continue living in a union with the Soviet Union.

If I only had your worries, Dr. Sladek (plus Rothschild's money), what a wonderful life would I have....

FRG Embassy in Prague Marks Departure Anniversary

LD3009164190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1505 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Prague (ADN)—On Sunday several dozen former GDR citizens met in the FRG Embassy in Prague, to which they had fled a year ago in order to achieve departure for the FRG. They were guests at an embassy function to mark the anniversary of that "historic event" at the end of September 1989. Ambassador Hermann Huber praised the action of the approximately 6,000 people who were told by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, speaking from the embassy balcony on 30 September, that they could depart. It was a contribution to German unity, which is about to be achieved in a few days time.

Comments on Future Needs, Gas Supply to Europe

AU3009165990

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 25 September on page 1 carries a 700-word interview with Engineer V. Ludvik, department head at the CSFR Ministry of Economy responsible for gas supplies, by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent Dagmar Truncova entitled "Supplies of Gas Comprehensively; Crossroads of European Gas Pipelines in Moravia?" The place and date of the interview are not given.

Ludvik is first asked about progress achieved since the Pentagonal summit in Venice in July where government representatives from Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia agreed on a "common course of action in securing gas for Central Europe."

Ludvik replies that some bilateral talks have been held in the last two months which confirmed that all members of the Pentagonal group are interested in a coordinated and comprehensive solution to gas supplies. According to Ludvik, Czechoslovakia presented two proposals at these talks. The first concerns the creation of a joint venture for importing Algerian natural gas and its transportation to Europe. The second proposal is the project of a new European north-south gas pipeline for the conveyance of Norwegian natural gas. This gas pipeline would lead across the territory of the present GDR, Poland, Moravia (where it would cut across the existing gas pipeline leading from the Soviet Union), Austria, and Hungary to Yugoslavia. This project would make it possible to link together all the basic sources of natural gas used in Europe—Norwegian gas, Soviet gas, and liquefied Algerian gas, transported from the territory of Italy by means of evaporating stations.

Asked about the financial aspect of this project, Ludvik replies that it should not be a problem to come up with the necessary capital if all five countries pool their resources. Each of them has something to offer, with Czechoslovakia, for example, possessing great expertise and experience in the planning and building of gas pipelines. He also observes that the East European countries are relatively well prepared for integration into an all-European gas distribution system, especially when compared with their preparedness for integration in the areas of transportation or telecommunications.

In her last question, the interviewer asks Ludvik to quantify Czechoslovakia' future requirements for natural gas. Ludvik says that according to latest estimates of Czechoslovakia's energy needs, by the year 2005 Czechoslovakia will require 25 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually. Of this amount, 18.5 billion cubic meters are "preliminarily secured" from the USSR and 0.5

billion cubic meters will come from domestic production. It is foreseen that the remaining 6 billion cubic meters will be imported from Norway and Algeria. Imports from these two countries should start in 1997.

Havel Attends World Summit for Children

Meets With Foreign Leaders

LD3009185890 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] New York Sept 30 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel met King Baudouin of Belgium, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez at the start of his visit to New York on Saturday. President Havel is attending the World Summit for Children here.

The meeting with King Baudouin was described as polite by presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky. "Belgian experiences with the federal system were discussed—it is the only country based on a bi-national principle like Czechoslovakia," he told CTK.

The Bulgarian president was interested in Czechoslovakia's privatisation plans. President Havel invited him to Prague and Zhelyu Zhelev reciprocated, the spokesman said.

After talks with the Venezuelan president at the UN headquaters Vaclav Havel said that concrete possibilities of cooperation were discussed, such as that Czechoslovakia would help build an oil refinery in Venezuela in exchange for oil supplies.

In the evening, the president attended a dinner for the heads of state and government present at the World Summit for Children.

Addresses Participating Officials

LD3009194490 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] New York Sept 30 (CTK correspondent)—President Vaclav Havel said here today he was proud he could sign the International Convention on the Rights of Children for Czechoslovakia here this morning.

He said that, however, although it is a good document it cannot save children from their parents committing evil on their behalf and in their interest and thus actually harming them.

"In the last decades I have seen backbones bent allegedly in the interest of children a thousand times in my country," he told the world summit for children. He recalled another sight which could be seen all over the world recently: "Iraqi President Husayn caressing the children of his hostages whom, as he said, he was now going to shoot."

"What evil has already been committed on behalf of children," President Havel said and noted that children usually do not want it: The Czechoslovak revolution against totalitarianism was in its beginnings a children's revolution, he noted recalling that students were the first to start demonstrations in Czechoslovakia in November 1989.

"It cannot be a law. But if it could be, I would add one more paragraph to the convention which I signed today. This paragraph would say that parents and adults in general are forbidden to lie, serve dictators, inform the police, stoop their heads, be afraid of dictators and betray their friends and ideals in the name of children and allegedly in their interest. And that all murderers and dictators are forbidden to caress children on the head," President Havel concluded.

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 4 Oct, the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT as well as the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe DAILY REPORT and the East Europe JPRS Report will cease publication. Also on that date, the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will be renamed GERMANY. The GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will include the kind of material previously published under the FRG, GDR, and German Unification titles, as well as material previously found in the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe JPRS Report.*

Gysi Denies BILD Report on Stasi Money

LD2709165690 Hamburg DPA in German 1626 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin, (DPA)—The Party for Democratic Socialism leader, Gregor Gysi, is considering legal action against BILD and other possible propagators of this "false report." His spokesman, Hanno Hanisch, told DPA today that the report was "a pack of lies." The account has never had anything even remotely to do with the Stasi [State Security Service]. Money from the party's pension fund has been paid into the account. After the account was closed the money was transferred to the state insurance organization.

Diestel Fears Campaign About Stasi Links

AU0210144690 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 30 Sep 90 p 3

["H.V." report: "An Evil Story Is Being Made Up"]

[Text] Bonn—The campaigns against leading GDR politicians concerning alleged contacts with the Stasi State Security Service are apparently to be continued. According to information received by WELT AM SONNTAG, a large West German illustrated magazine was offered material against GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (Christian Democratic Union).

It is not known yet whether the material is genuine or forged. In addition, similar revelations about GDR Interior Minister Diestel (Christian Democratic Union) and SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] politician Manfred Stolpe are apparently under preparation. Diestel and Stolpe are running for the office of minister president in Brandenburg in provincial elections scheduled for 14 October.

Diestel told WELT AM SONNTAG that he has specific information that "revelations of a special kind" are planned in his case. Diestel stated: "An evil story is being made up. I was allegedly involved in the interrogation of civil rights activists as a Stasi officer. However, evidence cannot be furnished because the witnesses are dead. However, statutory declarations by people who know about my activities will allegedly be presented."

The minister added that he knows the names of some people who are involved in the preparation of the campaign directed against him. He will take legal action against these people. "They are even planning to reveal that I reported directly to the Soviet secret service KGB and that, for this reason, no file on my person exists in the Stasi headquarters in Berlin," Diestel stressed. Such allegations are, "of course, unfounded." He first had contact with the Ministry for State Security when he was installed as the minister responsible for the dissolution of this ministry. "I have never had contact with the KGB, nor with the Israeli secret service, the Mossad, or any other secret service, as is to be revealed now," Diestel said.

No Stasi Files on Former SED Leaders Found

AU0210121990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 27 Sep 90 p 1

["opz" report: "Former Political Bigwigs Without Stasi Files"]

[Text] Berlin—Former political bigwigs of the old SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] state ensured, by means of a decree, a clean slate for themselves provided by the Stasi [State Security Service]. According to findings of the People's Chamber special committee, this is indicated by documents of the Ministry of State Security [MfS]. Upon inquiry by DER MORGEN, the committee stated that files of "people in top social functions" were not allowed to be kept. They were probably "separated out" and stored "elsewhere." Therefore, relevant motions are to be expected in the People's Chamber, in order to gain access to the party archives, committee member Christian Ladwig said.

In the same way, archives of mass organizations and institutions, such as the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], FDJ [Free German Youth], DSF [German-Soviet Friendship Society], and the National Council and Solidarity Committee must be subjected to thorough investigations. Experts suspect a particularly close link between the FDGB and the MfS. The trade unions are currently trying to block access to the informative archives for the next 30 years.

In investigating the officers with special tasks [OibE], the special committee has so far processed 2,448 of these MfS employees. Committee secretary David Gill explained to DER MORGEN the present state of the OibE structure from nine out of 15 bezirks: Potsdam (33), Chemnitz (37), Suhl (13), Frankfurt/Oder (35), Rostock (51), Magdeburg (47), Dresden (73), Schwerin (14), and Leipzig (33). The Berlin Stasi headquarters employed more OibE in the bezirks. In addition, hundreds of these secret officers have been established in the ministries. It is estimated that there are over 200 OibE in the Foreign Ministry alone.

By contrast, very few MfS officers employed in industry can now be traced, because the sole source, the "General Business Trip Project," in which over 6,000 cadres able to travel

to the West, were listed by the XVIII (economy) Main Department in the MfS, was destroyed under Modrow.

Former Stasi Officers Said Still Working Abroad

LD2809100590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0654 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—According to the GDR Interior Ministry, 26 former Stasi officers on special assignment (OibE) are still working in 14 states. Secretary of State Eberhard Stief, who informed the People's Chamber of this in East Berlin today, left open whether the secret officers have been decommissioned or are still active. [passage omitted]

Ministry Says Over 10,000 Neo-Nazis in GDR

AU0210134790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed ADN report: "GDR: 10,000 Neo-Nazis"]

[Text] Bonn—According to Bernd Wagner, head of the Counterextremism Department in the GDR Interior Ministry, there are more than 10,000 neo-Nazis in the GDR at the moment. These are mainly young people between 18 and 25 years old, Wagner said in the social democratic press service BLICK NACH RECHTS. The increase among younger people is increasing. Even 12-year-olds or 13-year-olds are attracted by the neo-Nazis. Wagner said that the "National Alternative" in East Berlin is the largest group, which now also intends to spread to West Berlin.

Honecker, Others To Be Tried for Shootings at Wall

AU0210132690 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 29-30 Sep 90 p 1

["pra" report: "Honecker To Be Put on Trial Because For Lethal Shots"]

[Text] Berlin—Erich Honecker and other members of the former Politburo are to be taken to task under criminal law for the killing shots at the Berlin Wall. The judiciary in West Berlin, which will be responsible for the investigation and prosecution of all East Berlin crimes as of 3 October, has made preparations for this. At the public prosecutor's office at the Berlin Chamber Court, a working group called "government crime" has been established. This working group will take over the investigation files from the East Berlin judiciary. The investigations made there against Honecker already comprise 300 files—even though so far investigations in East Berlin only referred to crimes in connection with property.

The investigations against Honecker and his comrades for having weapons used at the inner-German border are underway because of "killing by indirect participation," West Berlin Justice State Secretary Wolfgang Schomburg told SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. It would be fatal "if only those who fired shots at the wall when ordered to do so were taken to task but not those who gave the orders." The command structure has to be followed right to the top. This has nothing to do with revenge; punishment is "a command of justice." In Schomburg's view, "Mr. Krenz will also have to be taken to task."

"Concerning capital crimes," Schomburg said, "we are starting with zero." In the area of property, investigations will be made for "embezzlement" after the abolition of the GDR criminal law. Schomburg spoke of an "SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] government, which can be called a criminal association," which transferred millions of marks partly via the parties to other countries and into their own pockets.

Soviet Crude Oil Imports To Drop in Oct

LD0210191690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] The Soviet Union reduced September crude oil deliveries from the nearly 300,000 tonnes promised, despite the fact that oil pipelines were closed several times over the past few weeks, according to the head of a division of the Crude Oil Industry Trust.

Karoly Solti said the original contract stipulated that we should have received 528,000 tonnes of oil from the Soviet Union last month. The October quota should be 412,000 tonnes, but notification was received only a short time ago that only 315,000 tonnes will arrive this month on the Friendship pipelines.

The 1990 notification shows that, instead of the 6.5 million tonnes recorded in last year's contract, Hungary can expect only about 5 million tonnes of Soviet crude oil. As a result, 900,000 tonnes had to be purchased for hard currency, which resulted in $240 million extra expenditure for the economy.

Unchanged Situation in Romania Analyzed

AU0210124390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Sep 90 p 5

[Tibor Bogdan editorial: "Constancy"]

[Text] "If you vote Iliescu, you vote for communism," announced the slogan posted on many houses and voiced by many thousands of people in Romania prior to the elections held on 20 May, claiming that—to put it mildly—Iliescu is not exactly a man for changes; therefore, his leadership will gradually restore the former situation prevailing in Romania.

At most, the political observers may object to the aforementioned formulation, because, in their view, Hungary's eastern neighbor is hardly threatened by the danger of restoration, because no change has even taken place. More and more people realize that the events of December 1989 did not lead to the desired changes in the life of that country.

The various measures aimed at easing the living conditions—a slight improvement in the supply of the population with goods, the four free weekends a month instead of one, a reduction in the unjustifiably high price of electric energy and natural gas, and the issuing of world passports which can hardly be used because of the various visa requirements and the chronic hard currency shortage—hardly represent a break with the most orthodox communist regime in Eastern Europe.

The basic structure remained the same and the old nomenclatura and Securitate people have sneaked back into leading positions. Thus, the current situation in Romania resembles the old times. Although the supreme leadership and the government program itself regards it as a major goal to shift to a market economy and to carry out the privatization, very little has been done in this area in the past eight months.

President Ion Iliescu himself declared that large-scale enterprises and gigantic works would remain state property, and the strict provisions of the law on small ventures, as well as the high tax brackets, mainly scare the people away, rather than encourage them to set up such ventures. This also explains why the private ventures in Romania are limited to private taxis, private groceries, and small restaurants. The latter are struggling with shortages of goods and are forced to close down several days a week, just like the big state-owned shops. The economy continues to be managed from above, in a centralized way; therefore, production results do not yet show any improvement.

The economy shows clear signs of recession, rather than growth, and given the fact that the various mines and energy supply units are only working at 60-70 percent of their capacity, both the population and the leaders are in for a tough winter. The shops are empty again (although they have never been too filled with goods in the last 45 years) and rationing of supplies has been reintroduced (also in Bucharest). To make the restoration of old ways complete, all this again took place "at the request of the people." According to the official propaganda, textile industry workers asked Iliescu to restore rationing during one of his working visits in their enterprise. This system of "direct and lively dialogue with the people" has also reemerged after a very short apparent death....

The fact that nomenclatura and Securitate people are again holding leading positions, and thus have an increasing weight and influence in Romania's economic and political life, does not help the process of democratization either. In many cases, like in Cluj County, the prefects in charge of the county administration come from the old party officials, and this already shows the expected results of the local government elections scheduled for this fall. The former willing servants of the dictatorship feel so secure today that they have openly started to attack. The leading members of the Vatra Romaneasca come from these circles, and they are making use of this fascist organization in trying to increasingly distance Romania from the road of democratic development, and eventually, from Europe. From their power positions, they are threatening the opposition leaders with increasing vehemency, and it is again an open secret in Romania that there are no secrets, because letters are again opened and telephone conversations are again tapped. The idea, desire, and practice of isolation raised to the rank of state policy during the dictatorship are not foreign to the leaders of the current Romanian political life either. Although one can still see many caravans of trucks carrying foreign aid in Romania, the hatred of foreigners is at its peak. Slogans like "We will not sell the country," "We do not need Europe," and "The European house means giving up our national awareness" have again come into fashion in Romania. Within this general xenophobia, anti-Hungarian feelings continue to have a special role and importance.

In the dictatorship, however, the leadership was very keen on making sure that, while it accused Hungary of nationalism, irredentism, and territorial demands, the leadership also stressed that—in harmony with their Romanian brothers—the Romanians of Hungarian origins are working for the prosperity of their country and on building the fairest social order. In the current "democratic Romania," some people come up with the wildest accusations against the Hungarians of Transylvania, claiming that the Hungarians in Transylvania are playing soccer with cut-off Romanian heads and they are hanging dozens of innocent people who belong to the majority population living "on the holy Romanian land of Transylvania from time immemorial." As you can see, the waves of restoration are now exceeding even the original model....

Romania's current president does not spurn the grandeur either, and he has recently moved into Ceausescu's palace in Cotroceni [an elegant district in Bucharest] where, allegedly, he made his people dig a private mineral water well. As a former water affairs expert, he is well aware of the purity of the drinking water in Bucharest. Ion Iliescu also enjoys the working visits in various enterprises, during which he also cordially talks with the workers who show agreement with and affection toward their beloved leader. Within a short time, it has also transpired that Iliescu has a long history of opposition because he turned against Ceausescu as early as in 1971. Iliescu also likes the resounding titles, and the fact that he gladly and frequently appears on television, gives speeches, and sends messages and appeals to the population also arouses bad memories. In these messages, he also comes up with a particular and new terminology, like when he said that, on 23 December 1989, Romania asked for logistic, rather than military, help from the Soviet Union....

Thus, the situation in Romania continues to be unchanged. One can understand the disappointment of the intellectuals and students, of the young people in general. In the wake of the inevitable unpopular measures that the government will be forced to take, an increasing number of people will probably feel that the revolution has been stolen from them, and an increasing number of people will share the following slogan that promises changes: "There is a need for a new revolution...."

Ministry Official on Purchase of GDR Tanks

AU0210134590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti by Andrej Kiss; place and date not given: "Secondhand Tanks?—Colonel Gyorgy Keleti on DIE WELT Information"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] According to the latest military policy news connected with German reunification, Hungary is allegedly interested in purchasing 400 T-72 tanks from the former GDR Army. We asked the most competent institution, the Defense Ministry, and its spokesman Gyorgy Keleti about the sensational information deriving from DIE WELT.

[Kiss] Is it true that we want to purchase T-72 tanks?

[Keleti] Just like many other countries, we are presently in the phase of displaying interest. If we only consider the information provided by DIE WELT, the trucks of the former GDR Army will be purchased by Egypt.

[Kiss] Given Hungary's economic situation, the question arises whether we have money for this at all?

[Keleti] You are right. This is precisely the reason why I said before that we were only inquiring about the matter. We would like to know the price of the aforementioned tanks. Last year, for example, when we reduced the number of our tanks, there were also T-34 tanks among them—that is, tanks from World War II. People do not even know how obsolete the equipment of our Army was and still is. If our goal is to modernize our Army in some way, then, in my view, we will have to seek the cheapest solutions. Besides, although Hungary does have T-72 tanks, we do not have 135 pieces, as reported by DIE WELT. Hungary has fewer such tanks which we purchased at the end of the 1970's.

[Kiss] It is well known that combat technology is the most expensive thing on the world market. Furthermore, the reports say that we are considering the purchase of 400 tanks....

[Keleti] Not at all! Besides, the German intention to sell these tanks is understandable. If we only take a domestic example into consideration, the elimination of the T-55 tanks which we withdrew from service last year would cost 250,000 forints apiece. However, not even the Trash and Garbage Collection Trust would pay that much for them. It is clear, therefore, that it is better and more economical to sell them than to destroy them. On the other hand, according to the contracts, one cannot sell these items without the permission of the producer country. We are not aware of any German request for such Soviet permission.

[Kiss] If we get a favorable offer, what will the future business procedure be like? Who will authorize this purchase?

[Keleti] The Defense Ministry is not a foreign trade institution. According to a decision of the Council of Ministers in February 1990, only an official of the Ministry of International Economic Relations can issue a permit for such purchases. I would like to add that, so far, our ministry has not commissioned any foreign trade enterprise to purchase T-72 tanks.

[Kiss] It has become clear today that the Warsaw Pact armies were much more offensive than defensive in nature. This situation has now changed. At the same

time, we are now facing an intention to purchase tanks, whereas, according to experts, tanks are more offensive than defensive weapons. To what extent is this trend in harmony with Hungary's new defense policy?

[Keleti] This is in harmony with our defense policy. At the current Warsaw Pact-NATO talks in Vienna, the negotiating partners will establish quotas for every country in the near future. According to this, the number of offensive weapons will be reduced to such an extent that the ensuing armies would be almost incapable of carrying out attacks. Within this proposed quota, however, Hungary is allowed to have tanks.

[Kiss] Does that mean that your already know the size of the future quotas for Hungary?

[Keleti] I do not yet know the exact size. Not so long ago, however, the Hungarian Government officially announced that we did not agree with the planned quotas for Hungary. The head of our negotiating delegation in Vienna pointed out that we were concerned about the quotas intended for the neighboring countries.

Officials Interviewed on Defense System

AU0310092690 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Sep 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Robert Pick, first adjutant and leader of the military office of the president of the Republic, and Ferenc Koszeg, editor of the samizdat publication BESZELO and parliamentary deputy, by Janos Desi; place and date not given: "Economic Strength Is No Protection in Itself"—first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] Not so long ago, a debate raged in BESZELO—a publication which stands close to the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]—about the defense policy of an independent Hungary. Dr. Robert Pick initiated the debate in BESZELO. We asked Dr. Pick and Ferenc Koszeg to discuss Hungary's defense policy with us.

[Koszeg] The SZDSZ and the democratic opposition only used to deal with military issues from a human rights point of view. In the old BESZELO, we often wrote about the importance of the human rights of soldiers, and about conscientious objectors, whom we definitely supported. We spoke of our relations with the Warsaw Pact, and we thought about the best ways to bring about Hungary's relative independence. As early as in 1989, we advocated the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a separation from the Warsaw Pact. Since that time, the dissolution of the military blocs has made the 1956 spirit of neutrality unrealistic, and independence has come to the fore. That is how the question arose of what Hungary's new security policy should look like, an issue that we had not really dealt with before. [passage omitted]

[Koszeg] We have taken up the position that Hungary's independent security policy cannot be elaborated while Hungary is a member of the Warsaw Pact, because our Army is completely embedded in the Warsaw Pact structure. That is one of the reasons why we urge a separation. At the same time, a new security policy has to be elaborated, and we tried to contribute to this elaboration with our debate in BESZELO.

[Pick] It is not enough to fight for a state that grants its citizens every right. The state also has to be able to protect itself, its citizens, and their rights.

We Could Be Blackmailed

[Desi] Hungary is a poor country, and it is currently leaving its former military alliance. Is the country in a position to develop an effective defense system, or would this be so costly that it would not be worth the effort?

[Pick] If the structure of our Armed Forces is reorganized in an appropriate way, Hungary will be able to avoid or solve certain types of conflicts. Let us assume that the country decides that it is not worth the sacrifice, and that it does not set up an armed force. In other words, let us suppose that the country wants to solve everything by using political means. It is a big question whether this is feasible. I think that, in such a situation, Hungary's room for maneuver in its foreign policy would be reduced, and our country could even be the target of blackmail. It would not even help if our economic situation was very strong. Indeed, Hungary could become an easy prey for a poor, but well-armed country; that is what happened in Kuwait. Evidently, economic strength is not protection in itself.

[Desi] Perhaps we are only deluding ourselves, but Europe has changed!

[Pick] Still, let us not forget that Eastern and Central Europe are regions which could be destabilized. The superpowers or the medium-power countries could try to use that to further their own political aims. [passage omitted]

[Koszeg] We are not only far from a system of collective European security—the existence of which is questionable, anyway—we are also far from a system of Central and Eastern European integration, like the one that already exists in the West. That is why Hungary has to develop an independent security policy. The Hungarian Army has to be strong, so that it does not become an easy prey; there should be a high price to pay for conquering Hungary. At the same time, it is important to make sure that neighboring countries do not feel threatened by us. Hungary's military force should neither inspire fear in other countries, nor should it give Hungarians a reason to be afraid, or to feel unprotected.

[Pick] Our Army does not frighten other countries because the armies of our neighboring countries are all stronger than ours. There is not even a need to build up

an equivalent army, because defending a country only requires half as much strength as attacking one.

[Desi] It has been said that you have certain reservations about the CSCE negotiations taking place in Vienna....

[Pick] Basing my opinions on previous information, I used to think that if Hungary was not careful in its foreign policy, it might even sign a treaty in Vienna which jeopardized the country's security. Indeed, the treaty originally granted Hungary an army which was far too small. [passage omitted]

[Pick] The most important thing to which I would like to draw your attention is that the Vienna CSCE negotiations were not organized in the interest of the former socialist countries. If we had signed the treaty in its original form, security would have been guaranteed for Europe all the way to the Leitha River. The strength of the former Warsaw Pact, and particularly the strength of the Soviet Union, are being reduced to such an extent in Vienna that an attack against Western Europe has become unrealistic. However, in Vienna, they are not really considering what will happen to territories that stretch to the Urals. Indeed, there are still contradictions in Eastern Europe. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that each country wants to "join Europe" on its own, and each country wants to be the most important one. The things that are happening here cannot be irrelevant to the West. The flames that might eventually blaze in our region would also endanger the West. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Court Rules on Privatization

LD0210130190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] On the decision of the Constitutional Court, Gyorgy Mey reports.

[Mey] The Constitutional Court gave an affirmative answer to two questions from the prime minister: that the return of land to original owners—and in contrast with this, only partial compensation for other former owners—is against the provisions of the Constitution forbidding unfair discrimination.

The withdrawal of land from cooperative ownership is expropriation, and without compensation it is against the constitutional provisions guaranteeing the protection of property rights and those concerning the independence of cooperatives.

In other words, the Constitutional Court explains that in its interpretation, this would mean discrimination as described in paragraph 70(a) of the Constitution, if without constitutional reasons, the former property of certain people, depending on what the property consists of—in this case the land—is reprivatized, while others are not. Such discrimination is unconstitutional.

Further, in the view of the Constitutional Court, paragraph 13 of the Constitution concerning expropriation, provides guarantees which are appropriate for the expropriation of property not only on the basis of individual decisions but also via legislation. The expropriation of property, either via individual statutory instruments or via general legislation, in view of the already mentioned provisions of the Constitution, can only be on terms of immediate, unconditional, and full compensation.

The expropriation of property without immediate, unconditional, and full compensation is, therefore, unconstitutional. Further details are being given at the moment and will be reported later.

Jaruzelski Signs Amendment on Elections

LD0110152490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] This afternoon President Wojciech Jaruzelski signed a law amending the Constitution and law on the election of the president of the Polish Republic. Therefore, there are now no obstacles to calling presidential elections, which is the task of the Sejm speaker.

Presidential Elections Set for 25 November

LD0210163990 Warsaw PAP in English 1550 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Shortly before 1600 hours, Sejm (lower house) Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz signed an act calling presidential elections for November 25.

Deputies' Presidential Election Bill Outlined

AU3009152590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

["wicz"-signed report: "No Minimum Turnout"]

[Text] The marshal of the Sejm is to call presidential elections not later than 30 days before the incumbent president's term of office expires and not later than 14 days before the office of president is vacated—that is what is proposed in the Sejm deputies bill that was submitted at the Sejm session last week.

The bill provides for the election of a president by universal suffrage: The right to vote is accorded every person over the age of 18 and can only be exercised by the voter in person. The elections are to take place within 60 days of the Sejm marshal's announcement. The State Electoral Commission, which is to be made up of five judges drawn from the Supreme Court (nominated by the Supreme Court president or college), the Constitutional Court, and the Supreme Administrative Court. Voivodship and constituency commissions are also to be appointed. The commissions will determine the result of the voting.

Constituencies are to contain between 1,000 and 3,000 inhabitants. Information on the boundaries of constituencies and constituency headquarters is to be made by township councils not later than 35 days before the day of the election.

The right to propose candidates for the presidency is accorded to political parties, party accord organizations, social and political movements, and groups of citizens. Individual parties, movements, and citizens can only propose a single candidate. The deputies' bill does not, however, state how many signatures are needed to propose a candidate for the presidency. The bill sets out three possibilities: 100,000; 50,000; or 30,000 signatures. The bill only provides 15 days from the Sejm marshal's announcement for registering the candidacy with the State Electoral Commission. If the commission refuses to register a candidacy, an appeal may be lodged with the Supreme Court within two days. The bodies proposing the candidates, whose names appear on the ballot paper (in alphabetical order), have the right to assign one representative to every electoral commission, including the state one.

The manner of voting will be different once again. This time, an "x" is to be entered on the right hand side of the ballot paper alongside the name of the candidate that the voter has chosen. If no such sign appears next to a name then the vote will be deemed invalid.

The election results will be announced by the state commission. The election will be deemed to have be won by the candidate who has obtained more than half of the valid votes cast. The bill does not provide for a required minimum turnout. If no candidate succeeds in obtaining the necessary number of votes, a second round of elections will be held two weeks later in which the two candidates who obtained the greatest number of votes in the first round will stand. If the second round also fails to yield a result, the Sejm marshal will announce new elections, that is, candidates will have to be proposed and registered once more.

This last point contained in the deputies draft law on presidential elections appears to be its weakest aspect. The legislative commission and the Sejm will decided whether this point is to be changed or amended this week.

Democratic Right Supports Mazowiecki for President

LD0210213190 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—The Forum of the Democratic Right, a conservative-liberal grouping of Christian orientation, speaks in favour of the candidacy of Tadeusz Mazowiecki for Poland's president, said the Forum's spokesman Kazimierz Ujazdowski at a press conference here today.

"We are of the opinion that the policy of Prime Minister Mazowiecki proves that he is capable of leading Poland to a citizens' state and market economy. We hope that a considerable part of our programme will become a party of the presidential programme of Tadeusz Mazowiecki," he said.

"If Tadeusz Mazowiecki becomes president, we would like Lech Walesa to continue to take part in the public life and play an important role in it which however would not collide with the state stability," Ujazdowski said.

Miowowicz Pulls Out of Presidential Race

LD0210201790 Warsaw PAP in English 1738 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—"Now, I am not going to run for the presidency, I cannot trade my post at the trade unions for presidency," OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Chairman Alfred Miodowicz said at his press conference here today.

Miodowicz stressed that OPZZ was the only force at the "roundtable" which spoke in favor of free elections in June last year, without any contracts. If these postulates had been adopted then, we would enjoy a political and economic stabilization now, and the presidential post would not be a subject of debate," Miodowicz said.

OPZZ will take an active part in the elections however it is still uncertain whom it will support as only Mr. Walesa entered himself into the bid, the OPZZ leader said.

Possibility of Peasant Party Resignations Aired

PM0210140790 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 18 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Janusz Bylinski, by Ewa Lukasiewicz; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Lukasiewicz] Yours must be the hardest chair of all in the cabinet. The government is under severe attack from the farmers....

[Bylinski] I can feel the weight and severity of this attack, especially as—in my capacity as chairman of the Sejm Agriculture Commission—I am aware of the dramatic urgency of the situation. It is essential that the farming community be given a clear picture of what the government is aiming for in its policy. There are many misunderstandings in this area. For instance, no one can claim that it is our aim to transform the agrarian production structure. Such a transformation would only constitute one of the means by which we intend to increase production. Nor can anyone assert that the state fails to intervene sufficiently in the agricultural sector. We aim precisely to create a protective shield around that sector of the economy. By this I mean the provision of warehouse facilities, processing plants, the food processing industry, and a modern packaging industry. These will all determine whether agriculture can adjust its profile to the harsh laws of a market economy.

[Lukasiewicz] We are all finding it difficult to make ends meet today. This is clearly evident from the reduced retail demand for butter, milk, and cured meats....

[Bylinski] True. But for the farmer the demand barrier means not only that his income will be curtailed. He tries to protect himself not only against the threat of a lowered living standard for himself, but also against the danger of reduced production. Personally, I believe that an increase in our exports—to the West as well as to the East—could be an essential cure for these problems. We must not lose our established markets and we must also gain new ones. As a farmer, Sejm deputy, and Rural Solidarity activist, I have collected quite a few ideas on how to improve the situation of our agriculture. I will incorporate these ideas in my ministerial blueprints. If I fail to secure the government's official approval for these—which I doubt—the Polish Peasants Party activists will simply resign from their posts.

Schedule of Legislative Work Discussed

AU0310102990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Sep 90 p 2

["P.A." report: "More Laws Than Days"]

[Text] At the last Council of Ministers meeting, the government discussed a schedule of Sejm work until the end of the year. This schedule had been prepared following a previous agreement between the Government Presidium and Sejm Presidium.

Minister Jerzy Ciemniewski, who raised the subject of this schedule at the government meeting, indicated four groups of subjects to be covered by legislation. The main subject of Sejm work will be financial matters: the budgetary system, local government funds, the 1991 budget, and taxation. The second group of subjects involves privatization, including the animation of the capital market. The third group involves the influx of foreign capital, and the fourth involves social security.

When one looks at the list of several dozen acts of parliament, one discovers that a bill on abolishing extra-budgetary funds is one of the pieces of legislation that will receive their first reading soon. Also envisaged is the appointment of a chairman of the Supreme Body of Control.

In October a second reading of the budget law and first readings of bills on general subsidies for rural areas, value added tax, and social security for farmers are to be expected. By the end of this month the Sejm will probably also examine a bill on radio and television and another bill on the Radio and Television Committee.

Work on next year's budget and on a bill on securities will commence in November.

A bill on economic activity with the involvement of foreign persons or institutions and on tax for wage increases should also receive a first reading soon.

In December work on the budget should be completed, and there should be a first reading of bills on social security and on prices.

The schedule is not final: in fact changes are being made to it all the time, said Minister Ciemniewski. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that any additional items will be included in it.

During the Council of Ministers debate, Prime Minister Mazowiecki committed Agriculture Minister Janusz Bylinski to formulate the provisions of government agricultural policy soon. One can expect this to be done by the middle of October. These provisions will be based on work that has already been done, and on an agricultural report by the World Bank.

Communications Minister Slezak announced a communications act for October. Justice Minister Bentkowski said that a penal code and criminal conduct coder will be ready soon. The education minister mentioned legislation on education, the minister of national defense spoke

about a law on Polish Army Day, the military oath, military training, and professional military service.

Possible laws on medicines and on Polish citizenship were also mentioned. There are over 50 pieces of legislation on economic subjects alone, but only 30 of them are really important, and a few of these have reached the Sejm already. One can assume that the important items will be examined and adopted before any major disruptions of social and economic life occur. Nevertheless, it is difficult to expect enterprises and institutions to receive all the legislation they require for their 1991 work. As we can see, this negative tradition cannot die.

Opinion Poll Reacts to Political Situation

AU0110125090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Sep 90 p 2

["J.R." report: "Changes in the Country"]

[Text] A survey carried out in September revealed that social moods were better than they were in July. This time, the survey revealed a greater optimism about the development of the political situation in Poland. The country's political situation was deemed to be better than it was in July, but worse than it was prior to the "Solidarity" split.

One out of every four respondents said the political situation was good, and one out of twenty thought it was bad. Four-fifths of the respondents felt tension and a sense of unease in everyday life; only one percent felt completely at ease. Almost half the respondents foresaw a rise in tension in the coming months. More respondents thought the situation had deteriorated (over one-third) than those who thought it had improved (slightly over one-fourth). Another quarter thought the situation had not changed at all. One-tenth said that their family's standard of living had improved, and one-half said it had deteriorated. Almost half the respondents thought the development of the Polish situation was heading in the right direction, and almost one-third thought otherwise.

The percentage of respondents who thought the situation would improve fell from 68 percent in November to 50 percent. The percentage of those who did not foresee any major change remained at more or less the same level as in November, whereas the percentage of those who foresaw a deterioration rose from 4 to 10 percent. Also, 23 percent of the respondents had no comment to make, whereas in November the percentage was only 13 percent.

Acceptance of the changes in Poland increases in line with education. Half of all respondents with higher education approved of the changes, but only one-third of respondents with elementary education did so. Private entrepreneurs were the ones who expressed the greatest satisfaction; two-thirds of the private entrepreneurs who were polled said they were satisfied with the present changes, half the respondents from intelligentsia circles said they were satisfied, but less than half of the farmers polled said they were satisfied. The richer the person, the greater his acceptance of the changes in Poland. Conversely, the larger the family, the greater the dissatisfaction with them.

President Appoints New Top Military Staff

LD0110225190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of national defense, the president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic has made personnel changes as regards the posts of chief of general staff of the Polish Army and commander of the Warsaw Military District. He has appointed Lieutenant General Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk to the post of chief of staff, and Major General Leon Komornicki to that of commander of the Warsaw Military District.

Apart from this, appointments have been made to other posts within the armed forces: Lieutenant General Edmund Poloczuk to the post of main inspector of territorial defense; Lieutenant General Henryk Szumski to the post of chief of the Main Training Board; Lieutenant General Franciszek Pukala to the post of first deputy chief of general staff; Major General Marian Robelek to the post of deputy chief of general staff; and Major General Edward Rogala to the post of deputy chief of general staff.

The president—also on the recommendation of the minister of national defense—recalled Generals Antoni Jasinski and Jozef Puzycki from their posts as deputy defense ministers, as well as General Jerzy Skalski from his post as deputy defense minister and chief of civil defense, expressing thanks for their work at these posts.

The prime minister appointed Lieutenant General Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk to the post of deputy defense minister, and Lieutenant General Edmund Poloczukj to the post of chief of civil defense.

Private Fuel Importer on Diminisning Oil Reserves

AU0310081390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 27 Sep 90 p II

[Interview with Aleksander Gawronik, "largest private fuel importer in Poland," by Maria Rudzka; place and date not given: "I Fear a Reduction"]

[Text] [Rudzka] The price of oil has reached $40 a barrel on world markets. How much will gasoline cost in Poland?

[Gawronik] That is easy to work out. However, right now anything less than 4,000 zlotys per liter is an artificial price. It means we are dipping into our reserves.

[Rudzka] West Europe is saying that it will dip into its reserves, estimated to be enough to last 90 days, if the price of oil goes up to $60-65 per barrel.

[Gawronik] West Europe is ruled by economics. Poland is ruled by politics. People in Poland refuse to acknowledge the need to increase prices. They refuse to believe that that is a natural necessity. Instead, fuel is subsidized.

[Rudzka] But you are also selling oil at lower prices, in other words, you are also subsidizing it.

[Gawronik] I am not. I am still selling under the terms of the old contract. I still have five trainloads of fuel left.

[Rudzka] Do you know how much the new contract will cost?

[Gawronik] No, but last week I worked out that I will have to pay $500 per tonne of fuel.

[Rudzka] Also, last week, the heads of Exxon and Esso came to Poland on a private visit. You invited them. What was the purpose of this visit?

[Gawronik] Something should come of it. But I want to present this plan in its entirety sometime later, and not fragmentarily today. The people who have come are very important on the world market. Exxon is present in 80 countries.

[Rudzka] Do these companies intend to invest in Poland?

[Gawronik] Yes, and a great deal of money. Mainly in the infrastructure.

[Rudzka] Do you intend to invest in the northern port [not further identified]?

[Gawronik] I am interested in an entirely different port.

[Rudzka] What do you think will happen on the Polish fuel market next year?

[Gawronik] I fear there will be a mess for which we are not yet prepared. If the Soviet Union really does turn off its oil taps, our refineries will be paralyzed. They will not process light oil because that requires different technology. Therefore it will be necessary to buy oil. But with what? And how will it be shipped to Poland? Polish ports are not equipped to receive enormous tankers. Therefore it will be necessary to make emergency investments in ports. After all, oil shipments involve millions of tonnes! Imagine the organization our firm has to have in order to ship tens of thousands of tonnes of oil each month! Imagine the quantity of road tankers, trains, people!

[Gawronik] So how do you view your activity on the oil market next year?

[Rudzka] Unless there is a dramatic change, I will import oil by sea and rail. And I am preparing for very large-scale activity.

Soviet Border Crossing Point Opens Near Chelm

LD0110155190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Summary] A new border-crossing between Poland and the Soviet Union opened today in Dorohusk, near Chelm.

For the time being it will be used only by Polish and Soviet citizens and will be open from 0700 until 1900. It is expected that it will stay open for 24 hours a day in two months' time.

Jaruzelski Cancels Visit to Finland

LD0110222190 Warsaw PAP in English 1831 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 1—President Wojciech Jaruzelski has cancelled his visit to Finland. In a letter to Finland's President Mauno Koivisto, handed to Finland's Ambassador to Poland Unto Turunen, Jaruzelski wrote i.a.:

I was looking forward to this visit expecting it will give new impulses to the further development of the traditionally friendly relations between our nations.

I rest convinced that you will understand the reasons making me give this visit up.

South African Delegation Arrives for Trade Talks

MB0110173090 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] A South African foreign affairs delegation has arrived in the Polish capital, Warsaw, for talks with the government and private sector delegations.

Sources close to the Polish Foreign Affairs Department said that the talks were meant to lay the foundation for future bilateral relations. The emphasis would fall on expanded trade relations.

Trade between the two countries this year is expected to reach the 200 million dollar mark.

The sources said that both governments are now trying to establish mechanisms for direct trade which would cut prices considerably.

South Africa's exports include iron ore, manganese, wine and citrus products. Poland exports machine tools and chemicals.

The sources said that the South African delegation, led by the head of the East European desk, Mr. Paul Coetzee, would meet senior officials of the Polish departments of foreign affairs, and of foreign economic trade.

It would also meet a wide spectrum of political and social organizations and bankers.

Thirty-four Polish companies have confirmed that they will take part in a Polish trade fair to be held in Pretoria early next month.

The South African delegation is expected to return to South Africa later this week.

Skubiszewski Meets With Foreign Counterparts

LD0110184690 Warsaw PAP in English 1317 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] New York, Oct. 1—Head of the Polish delegation to the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, Minister of Foreign Affairs Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski granted an interview to the PAP correspondent in New

York on his further meetings with the heads of diplomacy from various countries. Excerpts:

India's Foreign Minister Humar Gujral touched upon some problems of security in the region and upon India's conflict with Pakistan. He was interested in the Polish stance on these issues.

I talked with Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Ghazali about the conflict in the Middle East, about measures that the Arab states could take there. Their answer is still that at the moment they practically can do nothing.

I had a long talk with Ukrainian Minister Antoliy Zlenko. We made a survey of things to be done in future. We touched upon past matters, especially the Vistula action [mass resettlement of Ukrainians after World War II]. The Senate resolution on the action meets with keen interest in the Ukraine. First of all, we must look ahead and here our relations with the Ukraine have to be modeled anew.

Invited by French Minister Roland Dumas I met with a number of African foreign ministers, and next I participated in a meeting of ministers from Central and East European countries with the so-called Rio group.

Mazowiecki Concludes Visit to New York 2 Oct

Cited on United Germany, Border Treaty

LD0210195590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] At a press conference in New York, just before his return flight to Poland, Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke about Poland's attitude toward united Germany:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I hope and trust that soon after the unification of Germany, just as it was established at the "two-plus-four" conference, a border treaty will be concluded. Our proposal in this matter is ready, and soon after the unification of Germany we will be consulting and discussing it with the German side. I think that this has to happen without delay, and I think that this is how it will go ahead. I think that the recent involvement in this matter of Chancellor Kohl, his concrete speeches at the Congress of the Expellees' Association, point to the fact that on the German side there was so to speak, a decided turning point in this matter in the direction we desired, that is that German society was informed by its government that this matter must be decisively resolved in this treaty.

Soon afterwards, we are ready to begin talks on a wider—not just concerning the border—treaty concerning, to put it simply, various fields of cooperation. Independent of the issue of those treaties, is the problem of the economic consequences of the unification of Germany which are not always to our advantage. They constitute a problem because our economy has been somewhat linked—as far as our exports are concerned—with the GDR. The problem is how we can preserve this market. [end recording]

Comments on Reform, Candidacy

LD0210084590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned to Warsaw from New York two hous ago. [passage omitted] Prime Minister Mazowiecki told journalists at Okecie Airport that in the talks he held with President George Bush, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, King Baudouin I of Belgium, and President Vaclav Havel, among others, he met with great recognition for Poland and for the boldness of the economic and political reforms in Poland. The subject of the Polish debt was raised during his talk with President George Bush. I did not plan and did not expect that any decision would be made at those talks. I can only say that there is understanding for our situation, that the problem is a great burden for Poland, and some kind of solution must be found, the prime minister said.

When asked when he would give an answer concerning his candidacy for the presidential elections, he said that first he had to acquaint himself with the recent Sejm resolutions. I think, however, the moment when I will have to make a decision is approaching.

Foreign Ministry States Western Visa Policies

LD0210032290 Warsaw PAP in English 2227 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 1—In connection with the continuation by Western countries, including the EC states, of the visa requirements for Polish citizens, the Polish Foreign Ministry states that in a situation when this requirement is lifted for citizens of other Central and East European states, this problem acquires political and Europe-wide character.

Poland realizes that integrational processes imply the need for coordination of decisions and agreements pertaining to entire communities and regional organizations. Poland must, however, state with regret that the comprehensiveness of these decisions does not justify the fact that despite profound systemic changes which take place in Poland, the democratic achievements and efforts to actively join the common system of European democracy, Polish citizens are being treated in the admission policy of many countries according to the criteria which were used in the era of divided Europe and, sometimes, we can even speak of more severe criteria.

Poland addressed the initiative to mutually lift the visa obligation to all those participants in the Helinki process with whom visa traffic is still continued.

This question is incessantly raised by representatives of the Foreign Ministry in bilateral negotiations as well as

on the plane of multi-lateral relations, such as, at the CSCE conference in Vienna and Copenhagen.

In the recent time, Poland has signed agreements with Italy, Chile, Mexico, and Tunisia concerning the visa-free traffic for diplomatic and business passport holders. Complete eradication of visas will be done with Argentina later this month. These agreements are important for the interest of the state but they can be regarded as merely the first step on the road to liberalization of travel regulations.

Talks over new agreements on visa-free travel to the Soviet Union and Hungary are in an advanced stage.

It should be expected that normal tourist traffic will start again with Czechoslovakia.

Unfortunately, some states, like Austria and the FRG, have recently reached for the simplest remedy, introducing visa requirement in cases when they have to cope with illegal trade or employment. While understanding the objective reasons for such decisions, we believe that a solution much better for international relations is a consistent use of customs and economic measures to control the negative phenomena associated with tourist traffic. The Polish authorities counter such phenomena in this particular way.

Poland expects that West European states will go beyond the declared intentions and ease the regulations for Polish citizens in a noticeable way, giving up the erection of administrative barriers.

In their practice connected with granting visas, Polish diplomatic representations and consular offices are applying criteria which permit immediate issuance of visas. The Ministry also thinks of undertaking unilateral measures in relation to CSCE states soon, which would allow visa-free travel to Poland by some groups of people, such as children, youth, and students.

Skubizewski Addresses New York CSCE Forum

LD0210212990 Warsaw PAP in English 1952 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] New York, Oct. 2—"No European country wants to sign an agreement on lifting visas, while on the other hand Poland stands ready to sign such an agreement with every country any time. The Poles perceive this state as a kind of discrimination, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told the CSCE conference in New York today. [no closing quotes as received]

Skubiszewski stressed that Poland supports the strivings of Baltic states, Lithuania inclusive, which want to partake in the CSCE processes directly. Referring to the upcoming CSCE summit in Paris (November 19-21), the minister called for speeding up the Vienna talks on reducing conventional arms in Europe.

The Polish minister also forwarded a proposal of including institutionalization of the CSCE process into the agenda of the Paris meeting and recalled Prime Minister Mazowiecki's initiative of setting up a council for European cooperation.

Referring to cooperation with the European Community, the Polish minister stated that Poland planned on joining this organization by the end of this decade. "The unification of Germany will, we hope, become a tremendous factor of European stability and unity," he stated, adding that the Polish-German border should not further the differences and economic and social divisions, "The neighbours should help in overcoming them," Skubiszewski said.

Balcerowicz Speaks at IMF, World Bank Session

AU0310083090 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Text] PAP Washington—On Thursday [27 September], Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said that Poland is sparing no efforts to continue the bold program of economic reforms, "which is also important for the sake of a global switch to a market economy," and expects "strong, unshaken, permanent, and unorthodox support and cooperation" from international society.

Addressing a plenary session on the last day of the annual IMF and World Bank conference in Washington, L. Balcerowicz stressed that Poland "is very well aware of the size of the stakes in this game.

"There are no ready, tested patterns that can be followed," said L. Balcerowicz. "Everything has to be tested and improved during its implementation. These moves require determination from the government and great sacrifices from our society. We have both, but we know that society's political tolerance may be exhausted. We are proud of the great determination with which the Poles are setting their house in order and of the fact that they agree to bear the costs of the reform. Nevertheless, the results have to reveal prospects of a better life."

Balcerowicz, who was speaking exactly one year since the day he announced his reform plan at last year's IMF and World Bank session in Washington, presented the achievements of the plan so far, as well as its temporary costs in the shape of a recession, a 30 percent drop in the standard of living, and unemployment.

"Society has received all this with understanding. The Poles understand that things have to be worse before they can get better.... Nevertheless, in our work we must consider the need to preserve society's confidence in the reform and its tolerance of the severe measures.

"We are much disturbed by the fact that as soon as the Polish economy began to manifest the first, tentative signs of an improvement, unexpected world developments negatively influenced our situation. I mean most of all the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

"The decline of CEMA is having a very negative impact on us. The considerable fall in deliveries of Soviet crude

oil to Poland will be a heavy blow to Poland's recovery and will a impose new, great burden on Polish hard currency reserves.

"We welcome the unification of Germany, but we cannot fail to notice the resultant fall in the demand for Polish export commodities, especially products of the engineering industry.

"All these obstacles are exacerbating our problems just when Poland has reached the crossroads. We are ready to face those challenges staunchly and with determination, but we will need international assistance and understanding, mainly expressed in a lasting and satisfactory solution of the Polish debt problem. In the past we have been shown international solidarity, and we dearly hope that that is also how it will be in future. The interests of Poland and the world demand it," said L. Balcerowicz.

After a round of talks with finance ministers, bankers, and politicians of Western states on Wednesday evening, L. Balcerowicz said that he saw clear progress in understanding the significance of solving the problem of Polish debts, although there is "still not enough" readiness to do more than make general statements of friendliness and draw practical conclusions from this.

He told reporters that the trouble was that the two groups of Poland's Western creditors—governments and private (commercial) banks—were playing a game in which each side looked to the other and did not want to make the first move.

"A complete understanding of the need for radical moves concerning Polish debts and a lack of readiness to draw the appropriate conclusions" was how Balcerowicz described, at a news conference on Thursday, the attitude of Western creditors vis-a-vis Poland's demand to considerably reduce the burden of debts.

Balcerowicz said Poland wants the kind of solution to the debts problem whereby the annual repayments of debts would not exceed two percent of their sum total (in other words the annual repayment would be $800 million) and the sum total of the debts would not increase. This is possible if the size of the debts is reduced or the interest rate lowered, or a mixture of the two.

Asked what effect an election victory by Walesa might have on the economy, Balcerowicz replied that as Poland is becoming increasingly democratic, it is increasingly difficult to forecast the political chain of events. But as far as the economy is concerned, the chances of continuing the reform program are very good whatever the result of the election, because there are no major differences between the main political forces in this sphere.

World Bank To Grant $6 Billion Loan to Poland

LD3009221190 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 30 Sep 90

[By PAP correspondent Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 30—The World Bank is ready to grant loans worth some six billion dollars to Poland in the nearest five years, President of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Wladyslaw Baka said after talks with the management of the foreign financial institution that is most important for that country.

Upon his departure from Washington Baka stated that such a sum was envisaged by the already existing plan of the bank's credit assistance for Poland till 1995. If one takes into consideration a possibility that some commitments of the World Bank may be co-financed by other banks, such as the European Investment Bank, the total value of loans may reach about eight billions dollars.

New World Bank credits are expected to finance the development of infrastructure, the fuel-power sector, farming, the industry and modernization of the banking-financial system. In addition to this, the bank will give Poland more structural adjustment loans with a view to supporting the balance of payments. The first 300 million dollar loan of this kind was granted to that country in July of this year.

Baka, who took part in an annual conference of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Washington, said that the atmosphere of talks with the latter was unique.

Asked whether Poland proposed that the World Bank expand its credit assistance in connection with the Gulf crisis, Baka replied: "We turned to the World Bank to again examine problems related to assistance in the light of consequences to be suffered by our economy."

"Now we can see the World Bank's far-reaching openness towards credit expansion, meeting us half-way with a credit offer."

"The World Bank can increase the structural adjustment loan above the level of 300 million dollars, and it has already accepted Polish suggestions concerning expansion of credits for the power industry."

"At present the World Bank is the main source of foreign credits for Poland. The total sum of credits it has granted to that country since last February amounts to some 1.1 billion dollars," Baka stated.

The World Bank is not only open to Polish initiatives "but even exerts pressure on us to speed up our activities related to using these credits," Baka added.

Iliescu Congratulates German Leader on Unification

AU0310104190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/10/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu sent a message to the President of the Federal Republic of Germany Richard von Weizsaecker which reads: The unification of Germany, a historic event in the life of the German people, offers me the pleasant opportunity to convey you the warmest congratulations as well as sincere wishes of peace and prosperity for the German people In your capacity as the first president of the Unified Germany I wish you good health and power of work for the benefit of the German people, of international understanding and cooperation.

I express my belief that the unification of Germany will give great impetus to the development of the traditional Romanian-German relations, for the benefit of our two peoples, and I assure you that as far as we are concerned we will spare no effort to impart new dimensions and a new quality to the many-sided cooperation between our two countries.

Iliescu Message to World Summit for Children

AU0210173290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1608 GMT 2 Oct 90

["The President in New York—Ion Iliescu on the Children's Rights Convention: 'A Fundamental Act'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—"It is good that political leaders meet to discuss the ways to children's survival, protection and training" reads the message of Romanian President Ion Iliescu included in a special book on "Political Leaders and Children" brought out for the World Summit for Children. The adoption of the children's rights convention is a fundamental legal and political act of deep responsibility for the entire international community, the Romanian head of state said in his message.

An inherent part of human rights, children's rights become from now on an essential part of the social and spiritual existence of nations, a binding obligation of states. Romania solemnly affirms its humanist vocation, respect and love for its youngest generation, its determination to warrant it a life in dignity, and such upbringing and education as are worthy of our age and the ideals of liberty, democracy and progress.

Children in our country were not spared, either: Their suffering, especially the suffering of orphans and the handicapped is a painful legacy of totalitarianism. We are now concerned to cope with this situation as far as our means allow us to. It has become cause for national consensus, a major concern of Romanian society. We were greatly aided in that respect by many states, by international organisations, by groups and individuals from various countries. We thank them all and assure them that their gesture will live for ever in the memory and conscience of the Romanian people.

We remain optimistic and realistic, being convinced that, through the close cooperation of governments and governmental organisations everywhere, of well-meaning people, we are moving toward a radical improvement of the state of children around the world, Ion Iliescu concludes his message.

Further Reportage on 45th UN Session in New York

Iliescu Meets Kuwaiti Emir, Others

AU0210195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] New York (ROMPRES) 2/10/1990—President Ion Iliescu talked with the Emir of Kuwait Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, who thanked Romania for its position in the 1990 summer events, for its activity at the UN Security Council.

Showing that the occupation of Kuwait was in open violation of the Charter of the United Nations, Ion Iliescu said Romania's attitude was normal and rooted in the recognition and observance of the widely recognised norms and principles in inter-state relations. Romania, he said, has taken this principled stand notwithstanding the economic consequences of the situation in the Gulf.

A mutual willingness was expressed to develop even in the current circumstances the relationship between Romania and Kuwait wherefore a ministerial degation would travel to Bucharest.

Ion Iliescu received a Boeing delegation led by vice-president Robert George, at the latter's request.

The delegation conveyed a message from the president of the corporation who appreciates the long relationship with Romania and says it intends to maintain it. Boeing corp. made specific proposals for aircraft purchases and industrial cooperation for the manufacture in Romania of parts for the aviation industry.

President Ion Iliescu said that the proposals would be considered by Romanian experts and invited an expert delegation to Romania to analyse the potential for the joint manufacture of various parts for the aviation industry as part of a long-term cooperation.

Iliescu Meets Bush, Baker, Others

AU0110212490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2101 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—Sunday in New York, the president of Romania, Ion Iliescu met with heads of state, prime ministers, heads of international bodies and other personalities attending the UN festivities in New York.

Sunday morning the president of Romania discussed with U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker.

Later in the day, Ion Iliescu talked with the presidents of Argentina, Carlos Menem, King Baudouin of the Belgians, the president of Bulgaria Zhelyu Zhelev, the president of Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel, the president of Costa Rica Angel Calderon Fournier, the president of Mozambique Joaquim Alberto Chissano.

President Iliescu met with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Iceland's Prime Minister Steingrimar Hermannsson, Japan's Premier Toshiki Kaifu, the prime minister of Liechtenstein Hans Brunhjart, the prime minister of Luxembourg Jacques Santer, Peru's Prime Minister Juan Carlos Hurtado Miller, Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez Marquez, Tunisia's Prime Minister Hamed Karoui.

The Romanian president talked with Mme. Suzanne Mubarak who represented President Muhammad Husni Mubarak at the world summit on children.

The Romanian head of state met with William Draper director general of the United Nations Development Program and Federico Mayor Zaragoza, UNESCO director-general.

Among the leading artists who were introduced to him were actress Audrey Hepburn, singer Julio Iglesias who will come to Romania and actor Peter Ustinov who proved to know several Romanian words.

Nastase Meets Hungarian Counterpart

AU0210220190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] New York (ROMPRES) 2/10/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, in New York for the UN General Assembly Session, had a working meeting with the Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. Naturally, the subject of the talk was to see what can be done to defuse tension in Romanian-Hungarian relations to bring them back to normal, the Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu told a "ROMPRES" news agency correspondent. It was an open talk, and each minister called a spade a spade because they agreed that it was the only way to overcome the existing misunderstandings and come to common conclusions.

Both ministers assessed the substance of the talks as positive, although no special understandings were made. It was understood that the Hungarian side would sent to Bucharest a foreign minister deputy to continue the talks and put the finishing touches to the set of measures apt to help the development of bilateral relations that had been agreed during the Romanian secretary of state's previous visit to Budapest.

Nastase Addresses CSCE Meeting in New York

AU0210203890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1916 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] New York (ROMPRES) 2/10/1990—Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase in a speech delivered a Tuesday at the CSCE foreign ministers' meeting in New York, after congratulating the foreign ministers of the FRG and the GDR on German unification, said that the Romania born in the December revolution had highly complex problems to overcome. However, the Romanian Government, the speaker said, is determined to continue along the road to a truly democratic society that meets widely accepted standards. Furthermore, it is resolved to restore Romania to its foreign policy vocation that asserted itself during the inter-war period.

The Romanian foreign minister also spoke about the preparations for the summit conference in Paris, he showed that Romania favoured the formation of a body apt to supervise free and fair elections in the CSCE countries and proposed the institutionalisation of a Balkan security and cooperation forum as part of the CSCE process. The Romanian foreign minister said that the Mediterranean can, through joint efforts, become a zone of peace, security and stability which would be of great importance for the achievement of European security.

Romania, the speaker said, will cooperate in a constructive spirit with all participating states to build a Europe ridded of political, economic, ideological disputes and of military competition.

Country Admitted to Commission for Democracy

AU0110195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1856 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—Mme. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, sent a letter to Romania's foreign minister to inform him that the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe had admitted Romania to the work of the Venice-based European Commission for Democracy Through Law which will decide on the status of the Romanian representative (as associate member or observer) when it first meets in session, a statement of Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry has announced today.

The Council of Europe's Democracy Through Law Commission has among its members legal experts of international standing from the council's member states. Representatives of countries that are not in the Council of Europe are admitted to the commission as associate members or observers.

President Bush's Role in Gulf Crisis Analyzed

AU0210153690 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 23 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Eugen Gasnas article: "Bush Between a Propaganda War and Military Actions"]

[Text] The current Gulf crisis, which broke out with lightning speed—using the word overnight would not be a figurative expression, but a real and concrete one in this case—entered its eighth week. When, in the early hours of the morning of 2 August, he learned about Iraq

invading Kuwait, the U.S. President said that he "does not intend to interfere in the Gulf or to send troops to that region." However, now he is in the position—why should we not say it—that is not to be envied at all, that of commander-in-chief of the greatest military force transported by plane from one country to another. More than that, he is "bombed" by advisers from all sides: For example, Henry Kissinger insists that George Bush should order a "progressive and surgical destruction of all Iraqi military bases."

With all the help granted by the United Nations, Great Britain, France, and 25 other countries, the crucial decisions depend on George Herbert Walker Bush—and he is aware of this fact. The joint forces of the other countries "fade" before the huge military machine transported from America to the Gulf--Stealth fighters, anti-radar EA-6B planes, 160,000 chemical warfare protection suits, and others. Although nobody in the U.S. administration had the courage to say it in public, Saudi Arabia has—in a way—become the 51st state of the United States.

Thus, the 41st U.S. President is confronted with an avalanche of questions regarding the mission of the U.S. and of the international forces in the Gulf. Do they want to protect Saudi Arabia from a possible Iraqi invasion? Do they want to push the Iraqis out of Kuwait? Or to eliminate Saddam Husayn? Or to destroy the Iraqi military potential? Or to preserve peace in the Gulf? If this is the case, for how long?

The truth that the Americans, willingly or unwillingly, must accept now is that, to a great extent, they are to blame for the Gulf crisis. The Reagan-Bush administration was so scared of an Iran led by the Ayatollah Khomeyni that it neglected a major principle of the U.S. policy in the Gulf: namely, the one according to which a strategic balance should always be maintained between the two regional powers—that is between Iran and Iraq. The threat posed now by Saddam Husayn would not have been possible without the military and economic assistance granted to them by the United States during the Iran-Iraq war. As a matter of fact, George Bush was hardly installed in the presidential chair when he signed a three-page long ultra-secret document on national security, according to which U.S. policy should be directed toward an increasingly greater cooperation with Iraq and with its leader Saddam Husayn.

As if the military and economic problems raised by the embargo against Iraq had not been enough, President George Bush now finds himself in a battle which he believed had been won earlier—that is, the propaganda battle. The White House is afraid that in this way the United States might lose what many call "the CNN war" against Iraq—CNN is an international television network which is broadcasting news from the Gulf region 24 hours a day. Washington employed one of the moguls of the American mass media, Roger Ailes, to stand against the Iraqi propaganda attacks. The White House was unpleasantly surprised when Saddam Husayn extended an invitation to two prominent American journalists who were sending reports which were much too much in favor of the Iraqis. George Bush's first impulse was to publicly criticize the two journalists, but Roger Ailes categorically opposed it, motivated by the fact that attacks against journalists almost always turn against those who originate them.

These days, President Bush and his counselors are increasingly aware of the fact that the propaganda war is as important as military actions. Any move made by Washington is immediately transmitted to Iraq and Kuwait through CNN. Thus the CNN news network replaced diplomatic channels as means of communication between the two governments. As a matter of fact it is known that the Iraqi interior minister informs CNN two hours before any Iraqi declaration is made so that the CNN can establish its own program to broadcast the respective statement "live."

On the other hand, a CNN reporter was allowed to fly an F-15 plane and take pictures of the cockpit, with the idea that the Iraqis will be more cautious in their pugnacious way of wording messages if they know with whom they are dealing.

Around the middle of the last month, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL organized a public opinion poll which shows that 74 percent of Americans agree with military action if Iraq attacks Saudi Arabia and 70 percent are in favor of sending troops to the Gulf region if Iraq holds American citizens as hostages. Certainly, the support of the American people is overwhelming, however, time is a weapon which, in the long run, could be favorable to Saddam Husayn. The morale of the American troops in the Gulf, as well as the moral of those who remained at home, will get lower and lower as time passes. The state of siege on Iraq can last for months on end.

After Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and John Kennedy, George Bush finds himself these days confronted with one of the most crucial options for the American people, and not only for them.

Premier Roman Receives British Council President

AU2809205390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1734 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/9/1990—On Friday [28 September] Prime Minister Petre Roman received Sir David Orr, president of the British Council, now on a visit in Romania.

Problems of mutual interest were discussed in order to initiate a fruitful collaboration between Romania and Great Britain in various fields.

Also attending the interview was Mr. Michael William Atkinson, ambassador of Great Britain to Bucharest.

Ministers Attend PRC Embassy Reception

AU2909141290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0804 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/9/1990—Wang Jinqing, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of People's Republic of China in Bucharest gave Friday evening a reception on the 41st anniversary of the People's Republic of China.

Attending were Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Anton Vatasescu Minister of state for industry and trade, Adrian Severin, assistant to the prime minister in charge of reform and relations with parliament, Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, national defence minister, Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism, Doru Viorel Ursu, minister of the interior, other cabinet members, representatives of political parties, men of letters and art, journalists.

The Romanian officials cordially discussed with the Chinese ambassador emphasising the good Romania-China relationship and the potential for growth of bilateral trade.

Roman Receives Olympic Committee President

AU0210172590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Tuesday, 2 October, Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC [Internaitonal Olympic Committee] president who travelled to Bucharest for the 75th Romanian Olympic Committee celebrations.

The talk covered the significance of the growing relationship between the Romanian Olympic Committee and the International Olympic Committee for the development of the sports movement in general, and the strengthening of the Olympic spirit. A number of joint activities were agreed, among which a big gymnastics competition in Romania next year under IOC patronage that will bring together the world's best gymnasts. The proceeds will go to Romania's abandoned and handicapped children.

The IOC president invited Premier Roman to the IOC Headquarters in Lausanne. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Showing that Romania is a prominent member of the Olympic movement and that it holds leading positions in certain sports, Juan Antonio Samaranch told the press at the end of the meeting that the IOC cannot forget the great service rendered to the international Olympic movement by Romania which did not go along with the communist countries in their boycott of the Los Angeles games.

Senate Discusses Bill on Commercial Societies

AU0210184590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—Romania's Senate discussed in its Tuesday plenary meeting the bill on commercial societies that is expected to set the legal framework for their establishment, organisation and operation in a market economy, in line with the Petre Roman cabinet programme.

The bill was submitted to the Senate for discussion after it was amended by the Senate's Standing Economic Commission. Reform Minister Adrian Severin told the full Senate house the reasons for the initiation of the bill and showed that it had already been favourably advised by the Assembly of Deputies after lengthy and heated debates. The government has approved it with certain amendments, the minister said, and added that the bill on commercial societies is part of a body of laws already enacted by parliament that provide the legal framework in the absence of which the government programme of swift passage to a market economy cannot be set into motion.

Reacting to the minister's suggestions, several senators stated their reservations about the suggested line of work, and said that they were the people's elect, not governmental functionaries.

In the debate of the bill proper, several senators upheld the urgency of a law on commercial societies, its importance for the Romanian economy and its shortfalls.

After a detailed discussion—paragraph by paragraph and article by article—the Senate passed the first four of the over 200 articles of the bill. Discussions in plenum turned down several amendments made by the economic commission which admitted the arguments as right in order to have a coherent law which should hold for a long time.

More on 2 Oct Senate Session

AU0210220290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—Romania's Senate passed unanimously in its plenum meeting on Tuesday, October 2, a proposal made by Sergiu Nicolaescu, National Salvation Front senator for Brasov to send a congratulatory telegram to the reunified German Bundestag, to mark the two German states' unification on October 3.

The telegram will be drawn up by a commission appointed by the Senate, to represent all political formations.

In its Tuesday plenary meeting, the Romanian Senate approved the nominal membership of the Commission for the Defence and Maintenance of Public Order in response to the Ministry of Interior's request to set up a parliamentary body to examine the activities of its departments. The commission, consisting of 5 deputies and 3 senators, set, among other targets, a scrutiny of the legislative grounds underlying the activities of the Ministry of Interior bodies.

Today's plenary session of the Senate concluded after the approval, by a majority of votes, of 22 articles of the bill on commercial societies. For several hours the debates

dwelt on the contents and wording of article 23, for which the senators could not find a compromise.

Proceedings are to be resumed on Wednesday, 3 October.

Deputies' Assembly Adopts Week's Agenda

AU0110195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—The Assembly of Deputies resumed its work in plenum Monday afternoon at Parliament Palace. The session chaired by the speaker, Dan Martian, passed this week's 15-item agenda comprising reports of its commissions, the Senate's resolutions to commemorate fifty years since the assassination of Nicolae Iorga, a great Romanian historian, and 525 years since Bucharest was made the capital of the principality of Wallachia. Also on the agenda are five bills, on: the trade register, the status of the flight personnel in the Air Force, employment on competence only criteria, the administrative law, and the exercise of the legal profession in Romania.

During this week government members will also answer questions raised by deputies.

Further on 1 Oct Assembly Session

AU0110220190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2123 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—After the agenda was approved, Marin Mladinovici, president of the Union of the Associations of the Injured and of the Descendants of the Heroes of the December' 89 Revolution took the floor, asking for measures to cope with certain difficulties, for assistance to the injured, and the heroes' descendants.

Most of those present voted for the budget and health commissions to met with the association's spokesmen on Wednesday, October 3, so that together a set of proposals be worked out to be submitted to Parliament in two weeks' time, at the latest.

The Assembly of Deputies passed the report of the Credentials Commission on the validation of the mandates of the National Salvation Front's deputies Ioan Bivolaru and Mircea Albu and of the Romanian Ecological Party Tatian Gogoasa, who filled the vacancies.

The works continued with debates and the passing, article by article, of the Trade Bill. After detail talks the first 26 articles were passed, most of them in unanimity.

The works of the Assembly of Deputies will be resumed Tuesday, October 2.

Deputies Assembly Ends Discussion of Trade Bill

AU0210203590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1913 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—The Tuesday 2 October morning session of the Assembly of Deputies concluded the debates on the trade bill, which was passed with only one abstention.

Further on the assembly discussed the bill on the status of flight personnel of the Romanian Air Forces. Lt. Gen. Horia Opruta, commander of the Air Forces, came to the stand to show that in modern warfare the Air Forces are given special missions and operate high performance combat airships and need competent properly trained and stable personnel. The achievement of these targets obviously depends on the appropriate definition of the social and professional status of the Air Force flight personnel, stressed the general, calling on the deputies to approve the bill under debate.

After several deputies representing all political groupings had taken the floor, the bill was passed by unanimity of votes.

The assembly further debated the bill on job assignment on professional competence criteria.

Proceedings are to be resumed tomorrow, 3 October.

Cabinet Cuts Subsidies for Energy Resources

AU0110213190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2110 GMT 1 Oct 90

["Governmental Diary: Discriminations Abolished in Energy Selling Prices"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman announced the Romanian Government had decided in its Monday, 1 October session to level up the prices of electricity, heat, fuels and lubricants payable by industrial, agricultural, transport and service units and by the population.

It is high time the citizens no longer pay for state subsidies for energy resources swallowed up more or less by economic units, the communique says. The Stalinist system of redistribution must be urgently abolished, we must make a clear-cut distinction between profitable and unprofitable enterprises and the balance of energy will become a prime argument in promoting economic efficiency criteria. The meaning of the present decision is very clear, says the communique quoting the chief of the executive, namely, the government will no longer subsidise economic units for their energy expenditures and will thus demolish a whole chain of false pricing in industry and other branches. In an economy that tends to a free market system, production units must take upon themselves the shock of energy costs and reflect it in the value of their products, this being the only measure of their profitability.

The time when cheap energy consumptions were not compulsorily accounted for is obviously history for most consumers, said the prime minister.

A decision was also made regarding the allotment of a certain percentage of energy sources to the free market in a stock exchange system open to all producers willing to invest in profitable and socially useful activities. By setting the prices of energy sources they will be better,

more rationally managed, an action that should be regarded in the context of an action of ample scope soon to be launched by the government liberalisation of prices in the Romanian economy.

Government Statement on Press, Difficulties Faced

AU0210203790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2015 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—The profusion of the press inconceivable a year ago is a self-evident post-revolutionary reality. The few scores of newspapers issued during the communist rule, censured and a prey to administrative abuses, as well as the Stalinist propaganda role of the press promoting concepts verging on the absurd, are in stark contrast with today's press, be it of political parties or independent, expressing points of view and interests of larger groups or private persons, the Mass-Media Department of the Romanian Government says in its point of view.

The document received by "ROMPRES" states that the existence of more than 1,000 newspapers and publications is and must be regarded as natural in today's Romania, open to democracy, to the pluralism of points of view and political options.

Romania's government recognizes the role of the press in the state of law, as an expression of the critical and ethical consciousness of public opinion and respects the right of the press to independence and differences of opinions, the right to diversity and reply. Consistent with these principles, the government gave up its right to initiative a law of the press in favour of Romania's society of journalists.

On the other hand, the government realizes the publications are faced with numerous difficulties in printing and distributing their issues and offers them assistance to cope with such difficulties, without infringing upon the right of economic agents to free action. Over the past weeks about 2,000 tonnes of paper have been used from state reserves to make it possible for some major daily papers to be printed in equitable conditions in terms of pages and circulation. The press in faced with objective difficulties that cannot be solved short period of time. Aware of that, the government is ready to back all financial efforts to introduce new technologies in the printing industry and to import paper through the agency of foreign economic agents. The import of printing materials, of paper first of all, is welcome.

The government gives equal treatment to all publications, irrespective of their orientation. The document shows the government is disappointed to see that its point of view was again misinterpreted and abused to defend the interests of "ROMANIA LIBERA" newspaper, against those of Romania's large-circulation dailies.

* Parties Protest Government Restrictions

90BA0306B Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian 7 Sep 90 p 1

["Protest" by Nicu Stancescu of the Democratic Union]

[Text] The Standing Commission of the Democratic Union, convened on 4 September 1990, wants to protest to the Romanian Government the difficulties made by government representatives for the eight parties belonging to this Union, namely:

—Attempts to dissolve the following parties by arbitrarily evacuating them from their legal headquarters: the Romanians' Republican Unity Party [RRUP], the Free Democratic Party [FDP], the Progressive Democratic Party [PDP], the Party for Honoring the Heroes of the Revolution and for National Salvation [PHHR], the Democratic Party with central headquarters in Cluj, and the Democratic Unity Party [DUP];

—Freezing the bank accounts of parties without any justification, in the wake of so-called auditing—for which there was no legal basis—the purpose of which was not so much to see how funds allocated from the state budget were spent, but rather to discredit the parties audited or their leaders: the FDP. the RRUP, and the SLP [Social Liberal Party];

—The discrimination practiced by unacceptably reducing or even altogether failing to deliver the paper allocated for newspapers and curtailing their printing facilities, not to mention the practice of prohibitive tariffs, the purpose of which is to deprive the following parties of the means to circulate their political ideas: the DUP and its newspaper MESAGERUL; the FDP and LUMEA DEMOCRATIEI; the PHHR and JERTFA; the SLP and DESTEPTAREA; the Democratic Party of Cluj and EUROPA, and the RRUP, which to this day has not received a paper allocation and printing facilities;

—The ransacking of the FDP headquarters on 13-15 June, for which repairs have still not begun, nor have damages been paid;

—Restricted access to the mass media, especially to Romanian Television, which is delaying or even refusing to broadcast news, communiques, and appeals concerning the political activities of the Democratic Union.

We expect the government to observe its pledge to promote democracy in fact by encouraging political pluralism, and to take immediate measures to remove the artificial obstacles created to preempt our activities.

Lina Ciobanu Testifies in Bucharest Trial

AU0110220090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2120 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—The trial of ex-members of the Romanian Communist Party's [RCP's] Central Committee [CC] Politbureau accused of genocide was resumed Monday 1 October with the testimony of Lina Ciobanu.

She is charged with tacit agreement during the 17 and 22 December 1989 meetings of the Executive Political Committee to the decision to repress the revolution.

She pleaded not guilty, showing that all the time she imagined measures were taken only against declasse people

who committed acts of vandalism, not against peaceful demonstrators for political, economic and social rights.

She said that in the 17 December Politbureau [as received] meeting, no decision had been made on the measures that had been taken beforehand by Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, and that the participants had only been asked to state their agreement with the dismissal of the ministers of national defence and of the interior Vasile Milea and Tudor Postelnicu and of the chief of the State Security Department, Iulian Vlad.

On the teleconference held immediately after the Politbureau meeting and the dialogue between Ceausescu and the ex-secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ion Coman, in Timisoara, she strongly denied that the latter had told the dictator "I ordered fire." The dialogue the defendant said, actually amounted to Ceausescu's insistent questioning on why the generals who were with Ion Coman there did not attend the teleconference and where they were.

Dismissing the charges, she asked the court: "Do you think that if I, and other Politbureau members, knew that what Ceausescu had told us, was not true, we would have accepted his decision?" And said: "we wouldn't have deserved to be treated like humans."

On Ceausescu's decision to institute a state of emergency at Timisoara, she said that "by no means she had understood that the measures to be taken would have implied to kill people even if they were hooligans. She thought that the action to be taken was similar to that for natural disasters like floods or earthquakes.

The session was adjourned after four and a half hours until 2 October when Constantin Olteanu will testify.

Olteanu Pleads Not Guilty; Trial Continues 8 Oct

AU0210195790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—The trial of the ex-members of Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party's [RCP] Politbureau was resumed Tuesday 2 October when the Bucharest Military Court heard the testimony of Constantin Olteanu.

He is charged with having tacitly consented, at the Politbureau meeting of 17 December 1989, that fire arms be used to repress the revolutionaries. He is also accused to have travelled over 18-22 December to the counties of Iasi, Vaslui, Botosani and Suceava where he took action together with the local bodies to prevent the spread of the revolution.

Constantin Olteanu dismissed during the hearing the substance of his statements during the criminal investigation, pleading not guilty. He said such words as "demonstrators," "revolution," "protesters" had been used by the investigating prosecutors, but not even once by Ceausescu when he told the Politbureau meeting about the events at Timisoara. The late dictator always referred to "hooligans," "declassee elements," "hoodlums" and it was only against their acts of vandalism that his consent as well as of the other participants can be linked, since Ceausescu was the only source of information on the events at Timisoara. That being so, it appeared to him that it was both natural and necessary that the Army, the militia and the security force should intervene to restore order. All the much more was the measure required as it was asserted that forces from the outside which aimed to cripple Romania's independence an sovereignty were involved in the start and course of the events.

The defendant said he had travelled over 18-22 December 1989 to the counties of Iasi, Vaslui, Botosani and Suceava to solve end-of-the-year matters such as the fulfilment of plan tasks, technical- materials supply, the population's supply. Therefore, no connection whatsoever with the December revolution.

Constantin Olteanu was defence minister with the rank of colonel-general, first secretary of the Bucharest Party Committee and mayor-general of Bucharest, CC of the RCP secretary for propaganda and the press, and after the 14th RCP Congress, for international affairs.

The trial was adjourned until 8 October 1990 when the court will hear the testimony of defendant Nicolae Constantin.

Sentence Passed on Brasov Ex-Communist Activists

AU0210220090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2106 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—At the conclusion, on 2 October of the trial of former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Brasov County secretariat members Maria Cebuc and Ion Furcoi, one year jail sentences were passed, which, however, the accused will not serve pursuant to provisions of article 3 of Decree-Law No. 3 of 4 January 1990. Other two defendants, ex-organisation secretary Gheorghe Daogaru and ex-first secretary Petre Preoteasa, have been sentenced to 5 and respectively 6 years in jail for the offence of having abused their prerogatives to the detriment of public interests.

An appeal can be lodge within ten days.

Trial of Former Party Activists Continues

AU0210100290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0855 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1990—The trial of former party and state activists and Militia and Securitate officers, charged with genocide, with having favored it and having been an accessory to it as well as other crimes over December 16-22, 1989, continues at the Military Section of the Timisoara Supreme Court.

About 200 witnesses were heard during this trial, which began on March 2, 1990. A number of persons are yet to be heard, such as those who were summoned by the court but failed to come owing to objective circumstances, as well as people who might be further called by the sides, provided the court accepts to hear them.

Ceausescu Guards' Trial Postponed Until 11 Oct

AU0210085290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0737 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1990—On Monday the Supreme Court—the Military Section—postponed for 11 October the trial of the appeal of the Romanian Prosecutor's Office—Military Prosecutors' Offices—against the aquittal passed by the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal on 7 March 1990 in the trial of the four former officers of the fifth guard and security direction: Aurel David, Florian Rat, Paulica Tanasie and Marian Rusu. As known they were charged of helping Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu escape from the former Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party headquarters on 22 December 1989.

Sofia Accusation of Attack on Tourists Denied

AU0210085490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0743 GMT 2 Oct 90

["Romanian Railway Police Denies BTA News"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1990—The Romanian Railway Police denies the news item "attack" disseminated by BTA on 28 September 1990 according to which a group of 15 Romanians attacked and robbed a car of the Panonia Express Train in a Bucharest railway station in the evening of 27 September.

The inquiries do not confirm the news item, reads a communique released by the Press Office of the Interior Ministry.

This is a case of flagrant act of disinformation promoted by an official news agency which did not verify the truthfulness of the news item it disseminated.

We wonder and at the same time we pose the question: what is the aim of disseminating unreal data and facts that can cause mistrust, fear and apprehension among the passengers of the Romanian railways, and can accredit the idea that their physical integrity is not ensured by the Romanian Police bodies, seriously prejudicing—morally and materially—Romania's interests.

These are considerations on the basis of which we ask the BTA officially to deny this news item in keeping with the norms in force.

The communique also informs the Romanian and foreign citizens that the Romanian Police have taken all necessary measures to protect them while travelling in or crossing Romania's territory.

Braila State Enterprise Employees Strike

AU0210184290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1754 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/10/1990—The employees of Braila's state-run commercial enterprise for industrial goods are on strike. The strike which started on September 28 was caused by the dismissal of enterprise manageress Maria Draghici.

The reason for that dismissal, says Braila County Prefect Viorel Patra lies in a number of complaints according to which the former manageress would have taken several trips to Turkey to sell important amounts of goods from the enterprise's stocks while the shelves of most state-owned stores are empty.

Material Shortages Forces Paper Plant To Close

AU0210113090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1990—Tuesday, October 2, 1990 the cellulose and paper plant of Calarasi stopped work. The plant closed up because three types of key raw materials conditioning the manufacturing process were exhausted from the plant stocks, namely chlorum and sodium hydroxide which should have been delivered by the chemical plant of Borzesti and resinous cellulose that is usually partly imported partly supplied from local sources.

It is through lack in those materials that the Calarasi plant will no longer supply the country with 120 tons writing and printing paper, 25 tons copy-books, 15 tons color paper and 10 tons toilet paper. The frequent appeals made by the plant management to the central body and the relevant department in the Ministry of Resources and Industry have gone unanswered.

At a moment when the country badly needs paper, over 2,200 workers are forced to be idle and earn only half of their wages from the state treasury.

Roman Attends New Academic Year Ceremonies

AU0110172990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1602 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman attended, Monday, 1 October, the opening of the 1990/91 academic year. The festivity occasioned the inauguration, in the conference hall of the Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest, of the engineering department comprising four sections, where, this academic year lectures will be given in English and, from the next academic year, in French as well. The new form of training, the only one of this kind in the Romanian higher education system, is the fruit of cooperation between the University, the Polytechnic Institute and the Civil Engineering Institute of Bucharest, in an effort to open Romanian higher education to Europe and the world by lifting language barriers. Reputed Romanian and foreign academics, will link up the Romanian academic curricula with those worldwide. Foreign students, can also take the courses of this new department for one or several terms.

Tension in Croatia; Militia Withdraws to Zagreb

Glina Assembly on Situation

LD3009223890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] At its session today, the extended presidency of the municipal assembly of Glina opined that because of the forceful seizure of weapons the political and security situation in the municipality is very unsettled and that it will do everything to overcome this problem in a peaceful and political way, including by seeking the surrendering of weapons, a statement from the session says.

The Croatian Government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are also held reponsible for the newly created situation, because of their imprudent moves which irritated the people, the statement stresses, adding that a return of special units, the arrests of citizens, and the replacement of workers in public security stations could create an explosive situation. In this case municipal bodies cannot accept responsibility for the consequences.

At the same time, the presidency rejects reports that money from the fund for the underdeveloped areas was used for the purchase of weapons.

The view of Croatian republican bodies that all this is a well-planned scheme from the outside is also a deception for the Croatian people, in order to shift their own responsibility onto somebody else.

In conclusion, the statement, signed by the president of the municipal assembly of Glina Velibor, is an open invitation to the Croatian Presidency, Government, and Ministry of Internal Affairs to a dialogue on all issues of coexistence.

Petrinja Parties Issue Statement

LD0210103690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] A meeting has been held in Petrinja of the leaders and members of eight of the nine political parties functioning in Petrinja. They agreed on a number of common tasks and duties designed to stabilize the difficult situation in the town and throughout the municipality. The only party not to have taken part in the meeting was the Socialist Party of Croatia—the Party of Yugoslav Orientation [Socijalisticka Partija Hrvatske—Partija Jugoslavenske Orijentacije].

In a public statement the eight parties stress that the citizens of Petrinja—Croatia, Serbs, and others—are opposed to the state of emergency and columns of refugees. They call on all frightened people to concentrate on their problems and on peaceful coexistence. The eight parties called on their members to make efforts to defuse tensions, behave sensibly, avoid being manipulated, and not to believe rumors and misinformation.

Night Watches, Barricades in Lika, Srb

AU0210115290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Barricades and night watches were set up last night in Lika. On the Lika highway, there were also barricades in (Vutasino Vrelo) near Gracac, on the Dalmatian side of Mount Velebit. One barricade was also in the Foca gorge on the Udbina-Lovinac regional road.

Night watches were organized in Srb and the surrounding area. Primary and secondary schools and enterprises are not working in this town.

TANJUG has learned that not one train has arrived at the Gospic railroad station from the direction of Knin in the last 36 hours and that only local trains have run from the direction of Gracac this morning.

Petrinja Reportedly 'Normal'

LD0210134590 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] There were no road barricades or disturbances in the municipality of Petrinja last night. Special units of the Ministry for Internal Affairs are no longer on duty outside the public security station in Petrinja, and those mothers and their children who had spent the past several days outside the Vasil Gacesa barracks, and stayed overnight inside, returned home. All visible signs in the town indicate that the situation in Petrinja is now normal.

Withdrawal of Special Units Called For

LD0210142990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Dvor na Uni, 2 October (TANJUG)—A protest meeting which was organized today by the municipal assembly [of Dvor na Uni] called for the withdrawal of special units from Dvor na Uni and for resolution of the newly created problems through democratic discussion. The meeting was attended by approximately 10,000 citizens from this municipality and Bosanski Novi, which is a neighboring municipality. Simo Rajsic, president of the municipal assembly, and deputies in the [Croatian] Assembly Savan Grabundzija and Janko Vasiljevic addressed the people.

They condemned the actions taken by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia and "everything that has been done to this peace-loving people over the past few days."

The meeting was not supervised by the special units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and it took place peacefully.

Interior Ministry Announces Arrests

LD0210145390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—A spokesman of the Croat Ministry for Internal Affairs today denied claims made by POLITIKA EKSPRES that 360 people have been arrested during the latest events in the Sisak region.

At the same time the spokesman has stressed that 22 persons have been detained on suspicion of committing criminal acts. Once legal inquiries are finished, the suspects will be allowed to defend themselves while free.

'Peaceful' Protest in Dvor na Uni

AU0210164890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Radovan Pantovic report]

[Excerpts] A meeting of several thousand citizens has been held in Dvor on the Una—in a peaceful and dignified manner and without any incidents—in protest against the conduct of the Croatian authorities and the presence of members of the special units in the town. Here is a report from Dvor on the Una by Radovan Pantovic:

[Pantovic] The presence of the special units as well as their conduct are unjustifiable and unlawful. This is why we demand that they be immediately withdrawn. This was the basic demand issued at the session of the Dvor Communal Assembly held last night and, at the same time, the basic message of the meeting.

Moreover, as president of the commune, Simo Rajisic, said at the meeting, citizens of Dvor on the Una demand that the Croatian Government establish who is responsible for the activity of the special units and that it relieve republican Deputy Internal Minister Perica Juric and Stjepan (?Bale), secretary of the Sisak Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, of their duties. They also demand that the weapons taken away from Dvor be returned and that those people arrested be released. Citizens who still have not returned the weapons they took were asked to do so as soon as possible.

Rajisic invited Franjo Tudjman to come to Dvor on the Una and see for himself how civil rights and freedoms are respected and asked the SFRY Presidency to ensure the respect of human rights and freedoms of all citizens in Croatia.

Stjepan (?Grabundzija) and Janko Vasiljevic, deputies to the Croatian Assembly from this region, also spoke at the meeting. They also condemned the behavior of the Croatian Government and demanded the urgent removal of the special units. (?Grabundzija) pointed out that all that has happened is only a new installment of the Croatian authorities' scenario. He invoked the historic decisions of the Regional Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia which envisaged the position of Croats and Serbs as equal. [passage omitted] The meeting was peaceful and there was no intervention. There were many Yugoslav flags, albeit no Croatian ones. There were slogans: We want freedom, we do not want terror; and Peace for our children.

The telegram of support sent by the Serbian Democratic Party was read at the meeting. The members of the special units have not intervened, although they are still in the town and so far there are no indications that they will leave soon.

Obrovac Municipality Statement

LD0210172990 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Unlike the Zadar municipal government, the government of Obravac has held a session behind closed doors, and issued a statement immediately upon its completion. Our attention is drawn to a six-point conclusion, which is reported by Dusan Olujuc, president of the Executive Council of the Municipal Assembly of Obrovac.

[Begin Olujic recording] 1. The Executive Council of the Municipal Assembly of Obrovac holds that the security and political situation on the territory of the municipality has deteriorated and that it still very difficult and tense.

2. We believe that the only way to resolve the newly created difficult security and political situation is democratic dialogue with representatives of the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia.

3. We believe that the latest move of the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia is yet another attack on the Serbian population in the Republic of Croatia. In this line, we are giving our full suport to the spontaneous self-organizing of the Serbian population in municipalities in Banija.

4. We hold that the only way to normalize the situation in the Serbian municipalities is to withdraw the special units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. We have condemned a statement of the minister of the Croatian ministry [as received] that resources from the fund for the development of economically underdeveloped areas in the Republic of Croatia sent to the municipality of Obrovac were spent on the purchase of weapons. The Executive Council of the Municipal Assembly of Obrovac, as a legal and executive governmental body, has never directed funds toward the purchase of weaponry, and the Serbian people are not so stupid as to spend funds intended for development on the purchase of weaponry.

5. In order to resolve the present deteriorating security and political situation and to normalize the situation in our municipality we propose and insist on an interparty meeting and agreement.

6. In order to resolve the present security and political situation in the Republic of Croatia and to protect the

constitutionally guaranteed citizenes' and national rights of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia, we call on the SFRY Presidency to take appropriate measures in accordance with its constitutional authority.

Zadar Secretary Reports Unrest

LD0210170190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Excerpt] This was the Zadar city government message heard at this morning's session: There is no political dialogue with terrorism, and we will defend our democracy at all costs.

Ilija Curcic, the Zadar Internal Affairs Secretariat's secretary, attended the session to brief the executive council on events in and around Obrovac and Benkovac.

Police patrolling Obrovac and Gracac last night report the [name indistinct] mountain pass was closed to traffic last night. Mines were discovered overnight in three places near the tunnel, making it possible to reach Zadar only via Gospic, or via the Adriatic Highway and Karlobag. The perpetrators who placed the mines near the Mt. Velebit tunnel removed huge pieces of rock in the early morning, so traffic today is in a single lane.

To open the road to Gracac completely, heavy machinery was sent from Zadar to Muskovci, where explosives were also placed on roads into a mountain pass.

Obrovac was also blocked last night. Public security service members report this township was sealed off with patrolled barricades from seven different directions. The barricades were removed this morning.

Curcic reports the Obrovac reserve police force confiscated 97 weapons and 15,000 stolen bullets on 27-28 September. In addition, some of the rebellious Obrovac citizens are now in Mt. Velebit forests, armed with hunting weapons.

Curcic also said there are threats to blow up Maslenik Bridge and the northern Dalmatia water supply line, which supplies Zadar, Benkovac, and Obrovac municipalities with water. Public facilities are constantly guarded by Zadar Internal Affairs Secretariat members because of these and other threats. [passage omitted]

Knin Threat To Blow Up Railway Line

LD0210180190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] When everybody expected that the traffic which was interrupted in Knin two nights ago at 0110 would return to normal, the information service of the sociopolitical organizations of Knin sent a telefax to the Zagreb Transport Organization threatening that if even one rail coach appears in the vicinity of Knin, the railway line will be blown up. This was also stated at a session of the worker's council of the railway Transport Organization before budget rescheduling was discussed.

Jovic Receives Serbs From Croatia

LD0210164890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—In the Palace of the Federation today, Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received a delegation of Serbs from Croatia which included representatives from Knin, Daruvar, Vukovar, Pakrac, Podravska Slatina, and Beli Manastir, representatives of the Serb Orthodox Church and representatives of the Serbs from Croatia living in Belgrade.

During the meeting, which was also attended by Nenad Bucin, a member of the SFRY Presidency, delegation members stressed that daily actions by the official organs of the Croat Republic are convincing evidence that they are at the threshold of a repetition of the tribulations of the Serb people experienced during World War II.

Enumerating many examples of the actions taken by the authorities which contribute to the situation they stressed that it is deteriorating hourly and that an armed conflict as the ultimate weapon of necessary defense is looming directly ahead. They expect the SFRY Presidency and other organs to take all available steps to prevent bloodshed and ensure normal life of the Serb people in Croatia and of all [words indistinct].

Jovic said that the SFRY Presidency will today discuss the current political and security situation with a view to taking the necessary measures to ensure [words indistinct] and peaceful life of all the citizens in all parts of our country.

Special Forces Leave Dvor na Uni

AU0210191690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] We have just received news that members of the special units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs have left Dvor na Uni. Security tasks in the town are going to be taken over by the workers of the public security station of Dvor na Uni.

According to Milan Serbul, head of the local public security station, not a single one of the local militiamen has been suspended. He also said that the public security station will get a group of new workers soon.

20,000 Attend Pro-Croat Rally

LD0210191490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Osijek, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Over 20,000 citizens of Osijek and other towns in the Slavonija and Baranja regions have gathered this evening at Liberty Square in Osijek town center at a rally in support of the Croat leadership, organized by the HDZ [Croat Democratic Community] local committee, under the slogan "Everybody for Croatia." The rally is organized in response to—as stated in invitations to the gathering—"crude

assaults on Croat sovereignty by greater Serbian and pro-Chetnik nationalists, and efforts to redraw borders of the Croat Republic and topple the democratically elected government."

The central town square was full with Croat flags and banners carrying slogans such as "Croats, let us defend the honor of our Croat homeland," "We want free Croatia," "We are ready," and others.

People at the square cheered frequently and noisily in favor of Croat freedom, sovereignty, Croat leadership, etc.

Branimir Glavas, member of the HDZ Central Committee, was first to address the rally and said that the Croat people, together with the Croat Presidency, Assembly, and Government, in fact called for the rally. The Croat people elected them in free, democratic elections and no one can topple them.

Croatian Parties Meet 2 Oct

LD0210212490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Representatives of six parties of the Croatian parliamentary opposition gathered today for consultations in order to examine the current problems and events in the republic. At the initiative of the Croatian Peasants' Party, the meeting was attended by representatives of the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change, Croatian Socialist Party, Croatian Christian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Party.

The meeting was held without the presence of journalists.

According to Croatian Peasants' Party leader Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, it was decided that the public should not "for the present" be informed of the content of the meeting.

Meanwhile, a similar meeting was announced today by the office of the ruling Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. The HDZ is convening for tomorrow, Wednesday, a meeting of representatives from all political parties in Croatia, in order to discuss the present events in the republic. The meeting will be open to journalists.

The results of the intensive inter-party talks will probably also be reflected at a session of the Croatian Assembly called for 4 and 5 October.

2 Militiamen Wounded by Gunfire

AU0310082090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] [monitored in progress] ...near a place called Vrbnik [near Knin] two militiamen were slightly wounded. One of them was wounded by firearms and was kept for medical attention. The other was released after examination.

The militiamen said that they were checking the barricades on the orders of their superior officer when they were stopped. They refused to surrender their arms and tried to escape by car. Then they were fired at.

It was relatively quiet in the town of Knin last night. This morning pupils went to school after a break of two days.

Dvor on the Una was also quiet. Last night, special militiamen left this town. The communal militia has taken over security. As announced, none of the militiamen have been suspended.

It has been announced that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia will soon send 30 militiamen to Dvor as reinforcements. The local people suspect that they could include members of special forces.

Out of those arrested in Dvor five are still being detained. They are due to be released from custody pending trial. It is expected that schools and enterprises will start working today.

'Attack' by Special Forces Expected

AU0310102790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Milorad Jovic report from Knin]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At this moment, our colleague, Milorad Jovic, is on the line from Knin. Hello.

[Jovic] [passage omitted] At the end of this report, I can say that the situation in Knin is relatively calm and seems to be calmer than in the last few days and it seems that all the tension is being transferred to the barricades. It seems that the sentries are very tired and very tense. Everyone last night was under great stress, and as you see things like that happen. [sentence as heard]

Otherwise, an attack by Tudjman's special forces, as they are called here, is expected at anytime. It is uncertain whether this attack will take place and we hope that it will not, but it is certain in any case that there must be a resolution, above all, a political resolution to this situation as soon as possible.

[Announcer] So, colleague Jovic, there is no panic but you say that it is calm in which fear in some way reigns.

[Jovic] Yes, in fact, as I say, fear reigns and it is being transferred to the barricades. Otherwise, lessons have resumed in school after a break of two days, enterprises work, and newspapers began to arrive more regularly yesterday, which points to the fact that the situation is calming down. However, fear and uncertainty remain, particularly on the barricades.

Knin Explosions Damage Shops

LD0310115290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Knin, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Several shops were damaged last night in two separate incidents in Knin. At

about 0300 [0200 GMT], as yet unidentified persons threw an explosive device at the Vjesnik kiosk in the Zeljko Milivojevic street. Besides the Vjesnik newspaper kiosk, the powerful explosion also damaged an adjecent food kiosk belonging to an Albanian, Duljaj Gega. The extent of the damage is high but no one was injured.

Near the Knin public security station in Petar Drapsin Street a window was broken on the shop belonging to a Croatian. It is believed the window was shattered either by bullets or stones.

No official statement has been made on the two incidents.

Croatian Special Forces Withdrawn

AU0310131790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] According to information that we have received from Mr. Milan Brezak, undersecretary for information in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, all special forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been withdrawn and are now in Zagreb. The duties of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs have been taken over and at this moment are being performed by regular militia forces.

FEC Warns of Country's Serious Situation

LD0210204990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—During its session last night and today the Federal Executive Council (FEC) (chaired by Ante Markovic) discussed the current political, economic, and security situation in the country. The assessment was made that the situation is very serious [teska] and that, in particular, it is weighed down by intranational conflicts which could lead to tragic consequences.

In this connection the FEC warns that resistance to the implementation of political and economic reform is growing. This applies both to opposition to implementation of the current economic policy and pressure on the renewed growth of inflation and to opposition against the establishment of pluralism of ownership as the basic condition for the further implementation of economic reforms and development of democratic relations in our society.

This also transpires from the efforts to strengthen and consolidate the existing one-party monopoly in individual environments and to acquire positions of power during forthcoming multiparty elections through unsuitable democratic methods. In this respect the means are not chosen, nor is the readiness concealed to sacrifice, the peaceful and secure life of the people, the territorial integrity of the country, the freedom and equality of our nations and nationalities to narrow political interests. Most information media which in the service of narrow political interests are blocking the flow of information, spread misinformation, and create a climate of reciprocal mistrust whereby they contribute to the deterioration of the overall situation in the country, are also in the service of this policy.

Therefore, the FEC calls on all citizens, and especially those who live in the parts of the country where interpersonal and interethnic relations have been seriously disturbed, to refrain from taking any measures which would lead to further exacerbation of the situation and deepening of mutual mistrust, and this also refers to the means of information. There is no need nor are the citizens allowed to arm themselves illegally, because, instead of gaining protection, this can endanger lives and also the lives and property of others. Protection of persons and property should be secured by state bodies because that is their duty. The FEC will take all steps within its authority to make sure that state bodies act strictly in accordance with their rights and duties in the whole country and toward everybody, and it will ensure that human rights and freedoms are respected, irrespective of republic, national, religious, political, or other affiliation.

While implementing their constitutionally based authority, state bodies must refrain from repression whenever it is possible. This uniformly refers to the actions of state bodies in Knin, Kosovo, or any other part of the country, which is the only way to reinforce trust in the law-governed state, and particularly to gain the trust of minorities toward the majority and to resolve problems in a democratic way.

In keeping with its policy that problems are resolved in a democratic way, the FEC has decided to send a group of FEC members to parts of the country where intranational relations have been seriously disturbed, so that they can gain insight into the situation and, in cooperation with bodies from these republics, establish and undertake measures for resolving the situation.

The current constitutional crisis in the country, changes to and preparations for the adoption of new constitutions, as well as the attitudes of some republics toward the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, are seriously hampering implementation of the reforms which have begun. Hence, the adoption of the proposed amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution must be secured, because they provide the preconditions for a democratic and only way out of the crisis. Amendments to the republican constitutions cannot change relations within the country as laid down in the SFRY Constitution. Operational decisions regarding any aspect of social life cannot be made on the basis of amendments to republican constitutions which are in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution.

The FEC holds that the process of making or implementing such decisions should be abandoned, as well as the process of proposing constitutional amendments contrary to the SFRY Constitution. This also refers to the regulations concerning national service made on the

basis of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. The FEC holds that the Government of the Slovene Republic, in line with its responsibilities, should not make operational decisions before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia assesses these amendments.

The FEC will analyze in detail the consequences of constitutional changes in the republics from the point of view of their impact on the pursuit of common interests in the federation and the implementation of reforms. The FEC will inform the public about this, and even propose and undertake appropriate measures.

Trade Unions Ask FEC To Take Urgent Measures

LD0210211290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 October (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with the Federal Government's statement in connection with the current events in Croatia the Presidium of the Belgrade City Trade Union Council sent a telegram tonight to the SFRY Presidency in which they are asked to take urgent measures envisioned by the federal constitution for this kind of situation.

During the session, which started in the afternoon and which is still going on, the presidium of the city trade union organization has made the assessment that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] stands are incomprehensible as regards the current situation in the country which is serious and for this reason appropriate reaction by the federal presidency is still awaited.

Presidency Fails To Issue Croatia Talks Statement

LD0210224390 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2200 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] As already reported, the Yugoslav Presidency today judged that the amendments to the Slovene Constitution infringed upon the federal constitutional powers.

It ruled, therefore, that territorial defense in the Republic of Slovenia will be led by the command of the Fifth Army area, in Zagreb.

The discussion between Yugoslav Presidency members on the political and security situation in Croatia, which started in the afternoon, ended in Belgrade tonight. No official statement on this has yet been issued. However, our Belgrade correspondent, Jovan Veselinovic, who is quoting quarters close to the federal Presidency, says he has learned that the statement on this will be very generic indeed.

In view of the present situation (?and balance of forces) within the Yugoslav Presidency, and when considering the standing orders concerning its work, the pundits are of the opinion that the introduction of intervention measures or of a state of emergency in Croatia is not to be expected. Before announcing a state of emergency, the Yugoslav Presidency must have the Croat Presidency and the federal government state their views, and this is something it has not yet requested.

Presidency Issues 'Statement' on Croatia Talks

LD0210235490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2217 GMT 2 Oct 90

["Statement From the SFRY Presidency"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—During the continuing session of the SFRY Presidency, in which Josip Manolic, president of the government of the Republic of Croatia, also participated, the Presidency continued to examine the current political-security situation in the country, particularly the development of events in certain places in the Republic of Croatia.

The SFRY Presidency assessed that the political-security situation in the country in recent days has worsened, and that there is a real danger that the further development of events, if this trend is not halted, could get out of control, leading directly to side conflicts with serious consequences. There has been a further worsening of intranational relations and nationalism, which is increasingly manifesting itself with the emergence of violence and extreme forms of threats to the public order and peace and security of citizens. This situation has been caused, above all, by the increasingly large-scale violation of the SFRY Constitution and the federal laws, and the ever apparent tendencies of political and economic disintegration of the country.

The SFRY Presidency has assessed that the situation in many areas inhabited by a nationally mixed population has seriously deteriorated, and that it is becoming increasingly serious and threatening, so as to lead to intranational conflicts with tragic consequences. This has become particularly evident in recent days in certain municipalities in the Republic of Croatia.

In examining the August events in the Knin region, the SFRY Presidency called for a detailed analysis of the causes leading up to them, and adopted stands and established the commitments for all competent organs so that peaceful ways to resolve the conflict situation, which has still not been done, can be found.

The SFRY Presidency insists on the uniform and principled treatment of all crisis centers in Yugoslavia. This presupposes the strict observance of the Constitution and the law, which applies both to citizens and to the organs of government, whose powers should not be abused. The SFRY Presidency, in the framework of its constitutional and legal authority, is responsible for guaranteeing this throughout the country.

With the aim of creating conditions for ensuring solutions on a democratic and lasting basis in the municipalities of the Republic of Croatia in which the deterioration of the political-security situation has occurred, and the return of confidence in the organs of government, the SFRY Presidency calls on the organs of the Republic of Croatia to recognize and remove the causes giving rise to fear, resistance, and widespread civil disobedience—including the withdrawal of special police units—to release those unfairly detained, to ensure the return of illegally acquired arms by legal means, to remove the barricades and guards, unblock communications, ensure public order and peace, and guarantee the freedom and security of all citizens.

The SFRY Presidency concluded that SFRY Presidency member Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, in cooperation with other competent organs, should immediately carry out a first-hand inspection of the situation, and on the basis of objective observations and indisputable facts should draw up draft solutions for overcoming the current confrontations and permanently eliminating the real causes of the conflicts which have arisen, which will be specially examined by the SFRY Presidency.

The SFRY Presidency considers that the existing intranational and inter-republican conflicts, like the numerous instances of attacking the dignity, sovereignty, territorial, and political integrity of the SFRY, must be resolutely removed. All causes which could give rise to the outbreak of more serious intranational conflicts, and might have tragic consequences for all our nations and nationalities, for the future and integrity of Yugoslavia and its position in Europe and the world, must be eliminated.

Report on Presidency Discussion of Croatia

LD0210230990 Ljubljana Radio Slovene Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] The TANJUG agency has reported on the session today of the Yugoslav Presidency. Our Belgrade correspondent Bojan Veselinovic has, however, culled a few more details about the session, not reported on by the state agency, from quarters close to the Yugoslav Presidency.

What happened was that the Presidency was supposed to start by discussing the situation in Croatia. However, Dr. Janez Drnovsek warned that the situation in that republic could not be considered in the absence of one of its representatives. The result was that the Presidency members decided that Croat Premier Josip Manolic could attend the session today as an observer [v ulogi referenta]. So, Slovenia, that is to say the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, were put on the agenda first.

Within the framework of the well-known Serb stands, most Presidency members in unison denounced the amendments to the Slovene Constitution with the result that the proposed conclusions were opposed only by Dr. Janez Drnovsek. Federal Presidency members from Bosnia-Hercegovina and from Macedonia did to some extent contribute to the discussion, but in the end they voted for the Yugoslav Presidency conclusions. The conclusions were most vocally advocated by Presidency President Borisav Jovic and Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic.

In this context, Janez Drnovsek drew attention to the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, which in his view is extending the powers of republican organs with regard to the Army much more than the Slovene constitution. Drnovsek also expressed the view that the amendments to the Slovene Constitution by themselves and directly do not pose a threat to the constitutional set-up in Yugoslavia.

As regards the discussion about the security and political situation in Croatia, our Belgrade correspondent, Bojan Veselinovic, has learned from circles close to the Yugoslav Presidency that the central dialogue was between President Jovic and the Slovene representative, Dr. Drnovsek. While Jovic was unceasingly advocating consistent compliance with legislation, Drnovsek mentioned that this implied an immediate return of all the weapons seized in Croatia. Jovic said they are to be returned only when the situation has improved. While the troyka of Dragutin Zelenovic from Vojvodina, Nenad Bucin from Montenegro, and President Jovic unceasingly spoke in favor of respect for the rights of the Serb minority, Janez Drnovsek told them they were inconsistent because they use entirely different yardsticks to assess the status of the Albanians as a minority in Serbia, or that of Slovenia in Yugoslavia.

An interesting point is that the federal secretary of national defense, Veljko Kadijevic, was keeping a very low profile, not taking up any stands from which one could infer that the Army is advocating intervention in Croatia.

Nevertheless, the session of the Yugoslav Presidency today is a success for those who are interested in the Kosovization of the entire country, and who, as early as the next session, will perhaps reach the conclusion that the time has finally come to introduce a state of emergency [izredne razmere].

Prime Minister Interviewed by Netherlands Paper

LD3009132290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] The Hague, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said that "none of the six Yugoslav republics was forced to remain in Yugoslavia" in an interview to the Dutch daily ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD on Saturday [29 September].

"Who does not want to stay can go", Markovic said, adding that the leaving must be in accord with the federal Constitution.

Markovic, however, believes that none of the republics really wants to leave the Yugoslav federation.

"At this moment, when Europe is striving towards unity, Yugoslavia cannot break apart...we should (?Europeanize) the Balkans, and (?not) Balkanize Europe," said Markovic.

Commenting on the tense situation in Kosovo, a province whose ethnic Albanians seek secession from the republic of Serbia, Markovic said that each national minority in Yugoslavia is allowed to express itself freely and openly, but that changes in Yugoslavia's external or internal borders are out of the question.

Alluding to the territorial claims of local leaders in some republics, Markovic said that any attempt of changing Yugoslavia's internal borders would result in a realistic danger of a civil war.

Speaking about the reforms initiated by his government last December, the success of which is now being called in question by selfish republican interests, Markovic said that they were introduced in an effort to realize a fundamental transformation of society.

"The oponents of reforms should be disarmed by the success of the reforms", the Yugoslav prime minister emphasized.

Fifth Army District Tasked With Slovenia's Defense

LD0210180390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—At today's session the SFRY Presidency has decided that the Fifth Army District Command, in the capacity of the single commander of the Armed Forces on the battlefield, is to be in charge of the territorial defense of the Slovene Republic. The Federal Secretariat for National Defense and Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] institutions will see that the decision is being implemented.

The statement from the Presidency session reads:

The SFRY Presidency, at the session chaired by President Borisav Jovic and attended by all members of the SFRY Presidency except the president of the Croat Republic, has considered the current political and security situation in the country. The Federal Executive Council president and other federal officials attended the session.

Considering decisions made by the Assembly of the Slovene Republic on 27 and 28 September, when three amendments and the constitutional law on the enforcement of Amendments 96 to 97 to the Constitution of the Slovene Republic were adopted and proclaimed, the SFRY Presidency has concluded that these decisions violate the constitutional powers pertaining to the federation and its bodies in the field of national defense and armed forces, the unity of the Armed Forces, and the system of command of the Armed Forces and are creating conditions for the formation of republican armed forces and a defense system. Thereby, the constitutional order and the integrity of the SFRY are being endangered which the SFRY Presidency cannot and will not allow.

In connection with this, the SFRY Presidency has made the following decision:

—That the Fifth Army District Command, in its capacity of the single commander of the Armed Forces in the battlefield, is in charge of and commands the territorial defense in the Slovene Republic.

—That the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and JNA units and institutions ensure the implementations of this decision.

This SFRY Presidency decision comes into force immediately.

The SFRY Presidency member from Slovenia, Janez Drnovsek, voted against the decision.

The SFRY Presidency went on to consider the current political and security situation in the country.

Slovene President Issues Statement on Defense Issue

LD0210194390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—It is the duty of the commanders and officers of the units and institutions of the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces to carry out only the decisions and commands of the Slovene Presidency and the republican Secretariat for National Defense and republican headquarters, in peace and in emergency situations, in accordance with their jurisdiction. This was stressed by President of the Slovene Presidency Milan Kucan in a statement which he gave this evening to Radio and Television Slovenia.

In connection with today's decision by the SFRY Presidency, that the leadership and command of the territorial defense of the Republic of Slovenia should be carried out by the command of the Fifth military district, Kucan said there is no reason why Slovenia should not carry this out successfully and efficiently in the latest situation as well. He also expressed the belief that Slovenia is fully competent to fulfill its tasks as a part of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia in a situation where war threatens as well.

Slovene Acting Chief on Territorial Defense Row

LD0110133590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1016 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—Janez Slapar, acting chief of Slovenia's republican headquarters of the territorial defense forces, told DELO today that "he maintains that there is no realistic possibility for the

Yugoslav People's Army to carry out its threats. Although in Belgrade they do not recognize me as acting chief of Slovenia's republican headquarters of territorial defense forces they will nevertheless have to find someone to talk to in the course of time. To artificially maintain a headquarters which is undergoing disbandment is a road to nowhere. I believe that these territorial defense affairs will soon normalize," Slapar said.

Slapar confirmed that "Republic of Slovenia President Milan Kucan summoned on late afternoon on 28 September all the previous commanders of district territorial defense headquarters and the commanders of municipal territorial defense forces to acquaint them with the situation and appointments in the territorial defense forces. I see the spontaneous applause at this meeting not only as an honor but as evidence that the professional staff in the territorial defense forces accept the republic's guidelines.

"During this week we intend to set up a new territorial defense republican headquarters and consolidate it with new cadres," Slapar said. This means district commanders will be appointed. By dropping one of the earlier orders we will start solving the problem of arms depots. We will try to establish normal relations with the Yugoslav People's Army. Some of the barracks house depots in which some of our arms are kept, too. In line with legal changes we will reduce the existing 13 territorial defense forces headquarters to seven district headquarters.

Army Moves Equipment From Slovenia

AU3009212790 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 26 Sep 90 p 4

[Emil Lukancic-Mori report: "Will Denouement Cause a Complication?"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 26 Sep—The culmination of the increasingly grave complications in the field of the Territorial Defense Forces of Slovenia—starting with the May take-over or taking away or relocation of territorial defense weapons to Yugoslav People's Army depots, the replacement of General Ivan Hocevar, commander of the Republican Staff of Territorial Defense Forces, a temporary stop on the finances for the Republican Staff of Territorial Defense, and up to the order preventing the territorial defense units from drawing weapons from Yugoslav People's Army depots—has caused tremendous political and moral harm in the ranks of the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces. The present position is such that the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia had to react at once. It proposed yesterday that the leading and commanding of the Territorial Defense Forces should come under the Presidency and the Republican Secretariat for People's Defense.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia at its session yesterday therefore proposed to the assembly to adopt tomorrow the proposed constitutional amendments on the basis of which the Presidency will assume these powers over the Territorial Defense Forces, and the republican Secretariat for People's Defense will assume the organization and command of the Territorial Defense Forces. According to the new system, we would independently regulate the manner of serving the conscription term and some other defense questions. If the assembly accepts this, which is most probable, we will get a new territorial defense commander on Friday. Milan Kucan and Janez Jansa drew attention of the yesterday's session to the fact that the Yugoslav People's Army is transporting from the territory of Slovenia its heavy, medium, and light weapons and other military equipment. Milan Kucan said in this connection that the SFRY Presidency explained that this concerns merely a reorganization of the Yugoslav People's Army, and they will subsequently send him a written explanation. Jansa doubted that this was just a reorganization of the Yugoslav People's Army. He did not follow up his thought, but he added that heavy weapons and radar equipment began to be loaded on trains and carried away yesterday.

The Presidency also discussed the possible organization of the Territorial Defense Forces in the transitional period. [passage omitted]

Slovenia's Kucan Addresses Republic Assembly

LD2809223890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Slovenia Milan Kucan today informed the delegates of all three chambers of the republican Assembly about this presidency's activities in asserting Slovenia's sovereign status and the consolidation of Slovenian statehood. Kucan spoke in detail about its cooperation with the SFRY Presidency and the presidencies of the other republics in seeking democratic ways of resolving Yugoslavia's crisis.

Following a series of decisions within the framework of the Republic of Slovenia, we are facing crucial preparations for a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia; also included here is a search for possibilities of securing a confederal position for the independent Slovenian state within Yugoslavia by endorsing its right to self-determination in a democratic way.

Kucan regards the existing constitutional system in Yugoslavia as outdated, as it is based upon certain ideological and systemic premises, which have brought about this crisis in Yugoslavia.

Slovenia is halfway through a process which should result in the affirmation of its full independence and sovereignty, and which will be completed by passing the new Slovene constitution. Slovenia is interested in the Yugoslav community, but along different principles from those practiced today, Kucan said.

Kucan pointed out that a new agreement among the nations regulating future relations in Yugoslavia is

needed, and that all options are legitimate, while the subjects of these agreements can only be independent and sovereign republics.

We support the initiative for resolving the constitutional crisis democratically, by seeking new ways of reaching agreements on the future life of Yugoslavia's peoples. It is significant that the existing Constitution cannot be the institutional framework of resolving the crisis, Kucan said. The fundamental political point of departure is that a new agreement of the peoples of Yugoslavia can only be formulated democratically on the basis of a nation's right to self-determination. If the federal organs declared these guidelines, they would facilitate the current legitimate aspirations of the nations and their republics to articulate new relations among themselves. The proposition the SFRY Presidency is offering, though, does not take into account these guidelines.

According to the stands of the presidency of Slovenia, the promoter of this new agreement on regulating the future life of the republics can neither be the SFRY Presidency nor the SFRY Assembly, who are only exacerbating the crisis by their moves; this role ought to be assigned to the soviereign republics. They may delegate authorized representatives of their parliaments, elected through multiparty elections, to a special body in charge of negotiating the new relations and preparing decisions which would later be subject to a referendum in each republic, enabling their citizens to have a say.

New Slovene Constitution Outlined

AU2809131190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 90 p 4

[D. Draskovic report: "Yugoslavia—In the Final Article"]

[Text] When Slovenia promulgates its new constitution, Slovenia will become an independent state with full sovereign rights, including those which it had transferred to the SFRY.

This is stated in Article 164, the final article of the document—or rather the written outline for it—which has been prepared by a specical commission and which the Constitutional Court will discuss immediately before the next Assembly session. As this article states, a constitutional law will determine how the sovereign rights will be taken back from the SFRY and the timetable involved, so that the constitution will come into force in accordance with a possible confederal agreement. It is interesting to note that the only time the word "Yugoslavia" is mentioned is in this final article.

The writers of the outline of the new Slovene constitution pay a lot of attention to the aforementioned constitutional law. According to one view, the present Assembly would adopt it but not according to the currently valid procedures but in a special procedure. Furthermore, it is also being considered whether it would be good for the constitutional law to come into effect together with the constitution, as is the case now, or whether it should be promulgated only after the constitution is promulgated, which will first go to a referendum. Then, it occurred to the authors that, because of the delicacy of the political situation, perhaps the constitutional law should be voted on in a referendum together with the constitution.

Another dilemma exists: "Considering the exceptional political significance of the envisaged provisions in this constitutional law, it should be voted on in a referendum together with the constitution. On the other hand, it could be said that the situation in Yugoslavia in the last months of the year will develop in such an unpredictable way that it would be inappropriate to prematurely announce the exact formulations of this law and thereby needlessly encumber confederal negotiations or the negotiations for secession." This is stated in the supplement to the outline for the new Slovene constitution.

The first article of the general provisions states that the Republic of Slovenia is a sovereign state which is founded on the inviolable right of the Slovene people to secession. One of the members of the group who was responsible for the document, Dr. Tine Hribar, explains that in this context, the concept "republic" does not mean anything other than in its state structure, Slovenia is a republic.

As the second article of the proposed document says, such a republic of Slovenia is the state of the Slovene people and all its citizens (Article 10 states that citizenship in Slovenia will be defined by law). One version of Article 11 says that foreigners in the Republic of Slovenia have all the constitutional rights which are in conformity with international treaties and laws, but not those which only citizens of the Republic of Slovenia have according to the law and Constitution.

Explaining this part of the text, Dr. Hribar says that Slovenia is the sovereign state of the Slovene people and that the Slovene people are the original subjects of this nation. However, not only Slovenes live in Slovenia, Dr. Hribar says, and all people are entitled to basic human rights and freedoms. Slovenia is not just a state of all the Slovene people but the state of all the people who live in it. However, it is not by any means the state of everyone who happens to find themselves in our homeland, "but the state of only those who have acquired Slovene citizenship," Dr. Hribar stresses.

Therefore, foreigners are all those who do not have Slovene citizenship: Macedonians are seen in the same way as the French, and Ante Markovic in the same way as Kurt Waldheim. None of the articles state that this is not the case! Moreover, explaining Article 11, Dr. Hribar expressly says: "Foreigners are people who do not have Slovene citizenship."

This is the basis for a very interesting provision in Article 66 which deals with property rights. According to one version, it is stated that the laws provided for in the constitution may determine that foreigners can have

property rights and under what conditions. Perhaps all this can be linked to a statement by the present foreign affairs minister of Slovenia which he made two years ago at his party's congress to whit, those people who are not Slovenes should not have the right to real estate.

As the text says further, the official language of the Republic of Slovenia is Slovene. The exceptions are Italian and Hungarian which are considered official languages but only in the areas where the Italian and Hungarian nationalities live.

President of the Republic

The post of the head of state will be held by the president of the republic who, according to the first variation, will be elected at direct elections or, according to the second variation, will be elected by the state assembly. In both cases, the post is held for a period of five years and the holder may be elected for only two consecutive terms of office. The post must be held by a citizen of Slovenia who should not be less than 35 years old. If the holder is prevented from carrying out his duties, they will be taken over by the president of the Constitutional Court. During his term of office, the president of the republic is not allowed to have any other post. The holder is at the same time the supreme commander of the Armed Forces of Slovenia. Also of interest is Article 107 which states that every act of the president of the republic is to be signed by the prime minister or the appropriate minister. The second version deletes this article.

Flag, Anthem, and Coat of Arms

As the proposed text of the constitution states, the Republic of Slovenia has a flag, anthem, and coat of arms. According to the first version, the flag is white, blue, and red and the anthem and coat of arms will be determined by a law. The first version adds that a symbol on the flag can be decided by public debate, and the second version states that Slovenia's anthem is Preseren's "The Toast." Not many disagreements exist over the elements of the flag and the anthem, and particularly not over the anthem, Dr. Hribar says. However, a public debate on the draft constitution of the Republic of Slovenia will decide on whether the flag will be without an added symbol or whether it will have a star, linden leaf, a picture of Triglav, or something quite different.

The Army

Articles 119 and 120 of the constitutional document deal with the Army and conscription and Article 45 with conscription. The first two state that the Army of the Republic of Slovenia defends the inviolability and integrity of the territory but on the basis of a decision made by the state assembly and the constitutional structure of Slovenia. The organization and activities of the Army and conscription are determined by law. Article 45 cites that army service is obligatory for citizens of Slovenia within the limits and in a way which is regulated by law. The republic must ensure that the citizens who are not prepared to carry out their military obligations in the Army of the Republic of Slovenia, because of their religious and other affiliations, are enabled to carry out their civil duties in another way.

Titograd Protesters Want Presidency's Resignation

LD0210132190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Titograd, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—If the state of Yugoslavia does not exist anymore, if the state Presidency is only a figurehead and has just a protocol function, if Yugoslavia is only a geographical notion, then we demand that the Yugoslav Presidency and the Federal Executive Council resign and leave it up to the people, who created Yugoslavia in the first place, to set up a system of rule.

This is the key demand read out at today's protest meeting in Titograd on the situation in Croatia.

If the federal bodies cannot or do not want to carry out their tasks, then we demand that Slobodan Milosevic and Branko Kostic, as the supreme commanders of the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro, proclaim a general mobilization and form a government of national salvation, together with representatives of opposition parties in Serbia and Montenegro.

Some 30,000 people are at the protest rally in Titograd.

Montenegrin Presidency Supports Serbs in Croatia

Emergency Session Held

AU0210112690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] The protection of the Serbian inhabitants of Croatia is the subject of today's emergency session of the Presidency of Montenegro in Titograd. A demand has been submitted to the political and military leadership of the country for them to make use of constitutional rights and obligations to bring down the Ustashas in Croatia.

The Presidency of Montenegro also gave its approval for a great people's rally to be held today in front of the building of the Assembly of Montenegro to condemn the actions of the Croatian leadership toward Serbs.

Presidency Expresses Support for Serbs

LD0210140990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Titograd, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Presidency called on the SFRY Presidency today to use all means at its disposal according to the Constitution to secure the peaceful life of the Serbian population living on Croatian territory, which forms a part of the united Yugoslavia.

In a statement from its extraordinary session, the Montenegrin presidency says that it has also adopted an initiative of a large number of work organizations and citizens to hold a big protest rally in Titograd at 1530 today, because of the use of repressive measures against the Serbian population in Banija.

One of the speakers at the rally will be Montenegrin Presidency President Dr. Branko Kostic.

Montenegrins Condemn Policy for Serbs

AU0210203390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Participants in the great people's meeting in Titograd have condemned the policy toward Serbs in Croatia that has been carried out by the Croatian Democratic Community, and have drafted demands to stop violence in Croatia, which were sent to the highest republican and federal bodies. Speaking at the meeting were Jovan (?Kolaric), president of the Titograd Communal Assembly, Niksic metal worker Momir Bojic, and [word indistinct] Danilo Plecas.

At the end of the meeting, Branko Kostic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency, addressed the people present and, commenting on demands heard at the meeting to the effect that one should go and help the Serbs in Croatia, said the following, among other things:

[Begin Kostic recording] I must say that because of the post I am occupying at the moment, the president of the state of Montenegro, I cannot respond to your call now, but I will not fail to join you when it is time and need to go to defend our brothers [murmurs of support, several calls of: It is so heard].

However, under present conditions, one cannot expect everybody to think the same about everything. Nevertheless, what representatives of the Organizational Committee have read here from this rostrum should be taken very seriously by all responsible state bodies in Yugoslavia, in Croatia, in Serbia, and in Montenegro. These bodies should know that when the people's wrath exceeds a certain limit, it cannot be controlled at all. From that point of view, I join the appeal and the demand contained in the message which we in the Republican Presidency have sent to all respective state organs of Yugoslavia, asking them to take a responsible stand in this critical and dramatic situation and to be aware of how great their responsibility is in these moments which are crucial both for Yugoslavia and for the Serbian people in Croatia [calls: It is so heard].

Dear citizens, although you will be informed about this later, I will still use this occasion to inform you about what we asked of the SFRY Presidency.

Concerned about the ever frequent occurrences of violations of rights and freedoms of the Serbian people in Croatia—the concern we expressed at the session of the Montenegrin Assembly four days ago—and provoked by appeals and reactions by many political parties, citizens' groups, and individuals in Montenegro, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro held an extraordinary session this morning, at which it discussed the most recent situation, provoked by repressive measures carried out by the internal affairs forces of the Republic of Croatia on territory populated by the Serbian people.

The Presidency assessed that the continuation of repressive measures against the members of the Serbian people in Croatia is threatening to have unforeseeable consequences. The violation of basic human and civil rights of the Serbian population in Croatia is leading us all to a civil war. This people, which made a huge contribution to the struggle against fascism and a huge number of whose members have given their lives in that struggle, deserves to be supported not only by us, but also by the entire people of Croatia and by all progressive forces in Yugoslavia, Europe, and the world. [end recording]

Novi Sad Protesters Demand 'Specific Measures'

AU0210213590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Nikola Bulatovic report from Novi Sad]

[Text] Several hundred citizens who attended a meeting in Novi Sad this afternoon expressed their readiness to prevent the terror perpetrated over the Serbs in Croatia. People gathered at the protest meeting demanded that specific measures be taken by the Presidencies of Yugoslavia and by the state of Serbia. Here is a report by Nikola Bulatovic:

[Bulatovic] Several hundred people who gathered at the big protest meeting in Novi Sad, which was organized by the united Serbian opposition, unanimously supported the Serbs in Croatia and expressed a readiness to use all means in order to help them.

There were 11 speakers, nine of whom were representatives of opposition parties, who were unanimous in condemning the fascistoid regime in Croatia which is threatening to commit another genocide against the Serbs. The following demands were among those voiced at the meeting:

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] We demand that the Serbian Presidency stop issuing empty verbal support to the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia, and that it respond to the clearly voiced demands of the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia by carrying out these specific measures which have been demanded.

We are calling on the patriotic Serbian soldiers and generals to think about the fate of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia, who are fleeing at this very moment while we are here, because the same fate is awaiting us all.

All Serbian generals should know that we all are volunteer soldiers of the Serbian Army and that they can reckon with us immediately. If these conditions that we

have set are not met within the coming 24 hours, we are going to convene a new meeting which will be even more radical. [end recording]

Pristina LC Members Relieved of Duties

LD2909171490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—The Pristina League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee, its Presidium, chairman, and statutory and supervisory commission, were relieved of their duties today by a decision of the delegates of an extraordinary conference of the LC organization of this municipality. At the same time a decision was adopted on the number of members and the method of election of the municipal and executive committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] for Pristina.

In a short debate on the report on past work, attention was drawn to the fact that the constitutional system of the country and its stability is being threatened by the strengthening of confederal and separatist processes in Slovenia and Croatia as well as by the proclamation of "Kosovo as a republic" by a group of delegates of Albanian nationality of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly.

Without a large-scale debate, a list of delegates for the 16th extraordinary conference of the Kosovo LC and for the electoral conference of the SPS of this province was accepted in a secret ballot. A list of possible candidates for the main committee of the provincial organisation of the SPS for Kosovo and Metohija was established.

Social Democratic Alliance Statement on Kosovo

LD3009093790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—The coordination committee of the Social Democratic Alliance of Yugoslavia held a meeting at the Students Cultural Center in Belgrade on 29 September. The committee adopted a statement saying

"We resolutely support the process of democratization which is unevenly but steadily continuing throughout the country. However, we oppose the unilateral dissolution of the Kosovo Assembly by the Serbian Assembly, which thwarts the parliamentary political expression of the Kosovo people.

We oppose the state repression being implemented in Kosovo by the Serbian Government, but at the same time we denounce the unilateral adoption of the constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, which is not in accordance with the constitutional order of Yugoslavia.

Since we cannot envisage the resolution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia without a democratically legitimate government in all republics and provinces, the holding of elections in Kosovo is a necessary prerequisite. Because legal institutions do not exist, we call for the establishment of an improvized political body [improvizorijum] which will be an unbiased commission for carrying out and supervising the elections. The commission would be made up of representatives of political parties from Kosovo and representatives of the Serbian Executive Council. This political body would have one single task: to organize and carry out free multiparty elections." [punctuation as received throughout].

The members of the Social Democratic Alliance of Yugoslavia are: the Croatian Social Democratic Alliance, Social Democratic Alliance of Serbia, Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, and the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina and Yugoslavia.

Bosnian Parties View Events in Croatia

AU0210190490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Ljubomir Nikolic report]

[Text] Sarajevo—Political parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina reacted to events in Croatia today. Here is a report by Ljubomir Nikolic:

[Nikolic] In a message which he sent to Croatian Premier Josip Manolic, Stjepan Kljujic, acting president of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, says the following: In these difficult times for the Republic of Croatia, the many members of the HDZ in Bosnia-Hercegovina extends full support to you and your noble efforts to persevere in solving all problems by democratic and legal means. For Bosnia-Hercegovina and for the entire Yugoslavia—which is, with a new agreement, the most suitable solution for all its peoples—we advocate a democratic dialogue and peaceful solutions without conflicts and bloodshed, Kljujic said today addressing Sarajevo journalists.

Members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina say that they are concerned about the events in Croatia because there is a possibility of these events having an impact on Bosnia-Hercegovina and that before any action by the special forces, one should have held a democratic dialogue and sought a peaceful solution to the dispute.

We do not support Serbian autonomy in Croatia and the organization of volunteer units in Sipovo and Bosanska Krajina which would go to help the Serbs in Croatia, members of the Central Committee said. Journalists were told today that Raif Dizdarevic's statements at some meetings in Bosnia-Hercegovina were not made on behalf of the League of Communists and that he does not represent this party's new policy.

The (?Council) for Interparty Cooperation of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Hercegovina has also presented its views on the events in Croatia. In the statement it issued today, this body says that what is involved is unprovoked violence against the unarmed Serbian

population, and adds that it supports the decision of the Serbian National Council in Knin to proclaim the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia. The Council calls on all Serbian political parties in Yugoslavia to find a way to draft a joint platform regarding this situation in Croatia and similar situations that may occur.

Another statement on the events in Croatia is expected to be issued this evening at the founding assembly of the Socialist Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina which is to be held in Bosansko Grahovo. Petar Skundric and Boris Mikelic have been invited to attend the assembly as guests.

New Croatian Constitution Outlined

AU0310100390 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 90 p 2

[Dr. Smiljko Sokol article: "To Suit a Croatian Future"]

[Text] The new Croatian constitution, as the constitution of a democratic state, will be devised according to the model of, for example, the Constitutions of Italy, the FRG, France, and Spain. It will also incorporate some provisions from the Constitution of the United States of America, but take into consideration the traditional values of Croatian constitutional and legal thought and reality. The constitution will be brief, concise, and clear. It will be a realistic constitution, which means that it will not contain utopian provisions like previous communist constitutions.

According to the constitution, the Republic of Croatia will be defined as the national state of the Croatian people who will be the only ones in it to exercise their national sovereignty, that is to say, the inviolable, indivisible, and inalienable right to self-determination, which means that—through the Croatian Assembly—they independently decide on what kind of state they live in. However, Croatia will also be defined as the state of the members of other peoples and minorities who are its citizens. The members of every people in Croatia will be guaranteed the freedom to express their national affiliation, display their national culture, freely use their own language and alphabet, and freely use their national symbols in line with the law.

In conformity with the democratic principles of national sovereignty, power in the Republic of Croatia stems from the people and belongs to the people, and the people are defined constitutionally and legally as a community of free and in all respects equal citizens. The people exercise power by electing their direct representatives and through direct decisionmaking. The normative part of the constitution—in the section which is devoted to the basic freedoms and rights of people and citizens and in the section which defines the structure of state authority—particularly expounds on the following greatest values of the state order of the Republic of Croatia: freedom, parity, national equality, social justice, respect for human rights, the rule of law, and a democratic multiparty structure.

Proceeding from the democratic principle of the distribution or separation of power, the new constitution completely rejects the assembly structure which is based on the utopia of the assembly as a working body. The structure of state power is based on the parliamentary system combined with certain characteristics of the presidential system. Without going into a more detailed analysis of the complete system of the state authority in the Republic of Croatia, it should nevertheless be mentioned that the post of president of the republic is being introduced. The president of the republic will be elected directly by the people and, with the usual powers of a head of state, will appoint the premier and, on his proposal, the other members of the government of the Republic of Croatia. The government will however be responsible to the Croatian Assembly, but the Assembly will be the holder of legislative power, as the representative body of the citizens of Croatia.

Judicial power will be independent and autonomous and judges will have security of tenure.

As regards the structure of regional self-management and administration, it should be particularly stressed that the constitution consistently accepts the democratic principle of local self-management but completely rejects the previous communal system, according to which Croatia was its own kind of federation of communes and the communes their own kind of mini-states, within which there was no real self-management and everything was decided by the leading political bodies of these quasi-states. Therefore the criticism—which can already be heard even though the draft of the constitution has not yet been issued—that all power is centralized at the level of the republic is totally unfounded. This can be claimed only by those who, either because of their own interests or out of ideological reasons, think that the existing communal system is the only form of real local self-management.

According to the new constitution, communes, districts, and towns will most probably be set up as units of local self-management, but it should be mentioned that, as is the case with all European democracies, like the FRG and France, regional organs of republican administration may be set up in these units in line with the law, or the law will allow certain tasks within the framework of the republican powers to be transferred to communal and district organs. In that case, communal and district organs will be subordinate to the corresponding organs of republican administration (twin tracks). It is probable that boroughs will also be set up, but not as units of local self-management but solely as units which will perform some regional functions of republican administration.

In line with the constitution of the Republic of Croatia, communes and districts will autonomously regulate the exercise of local self-management in their own region with their own statutes. The city of Zagreb, as the Croatian capital, will probably be given the status of a special unified administrative entity.

SKH-SDP Congress Planned for 3 Nov

LD2909175390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—The Congress of the Croat League of Communists—Party of Democratic Changes (SKH-SDP) has been scheduled for 3 November this year in Zagreb. Explaining this decision of the SKH-SDP Central Committee, which today held a meeting behind closed doors, Ivica Racan stated at a press conference that a new program document, which will express consistently the demands of the membership for the party's transformation into a party with a "recognizable" social-democratic orientation, will be proposed to the congress.

This orientation, according to Racan, will also be expressed in the very name of the party. It was also intimated at the news conference that prior to the congress, several meetings will also be held with parties having a similar democratic left-wing orientation, including the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia, the chairman of which is Dr. Antun Vujic, for the purpose of considering the possibility of the unification of the Democratic Left.

'Vojvodina Forum' Party Formed in Novi Sad

LD3009172390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Novi Sad, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—A new political party, the Vojvodina Forum, was formed in Novi Sad today. The new party advocates greater autonomy for the Vojvodina province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

The Vojvodina Forum also advocates greater autonomy for Kosovo, Serbia's southern province, whose ethnic Albanians demand secession from the republic.

The new party will be headed by a presidency, which includes former Vojvodina Communist leader Bosko Kovacevic, Novi Sad television journalist Mile Isakov and former president of the pro-communist Vojvodina Youth Organization Branimir Brkljac.

Until March 1989, Vojvodina and Kosovo, which were formally integral parts of Serbia, shared equal status with Yugoslavia's other republics.

The Serbian leaders then complained that, divided into three mutually conflicting parts, Serbia's position was not equal to that of the other five republics.

The amendments to the Constitution adopted on March 28, 1989, considerably reduced the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina, while the new constitution, adopted on September 28, 1990, grants them only territorial autonomy without any state prerogatives.

Socialist Party of Macedonia Founded

LD2809165490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Skopje, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Macedonia [Socijalisticka Partija Makedonije—SPM] has made its appearance on the pluralist scene in a dignified way and with unvacillating faith in what it will be offering and what it is fighting for. Our aim is not to win the battle for power but the battle for Macedonia, for peace, development, and certain prospects for future generations. Our aim is not personal victory, but the victory of all democrats who are reform-minded and who have an active attitude toward changes—Kiro Popovski stressed in his introductory remarks at the founding assembly of the SPM, which began today in Skopje.

Muslim Bosnian Party Sets Out Program

LD2809224290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2121 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Mostar, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—A public promotion was held this evening in Mostar of the Muslim Bosnian Party [Muslimanska Bosnjacka Partija—MBP] at which the leaders of the newly founded party—Adil Zulfikarpasic, academic Muhamed Filipovic, and Fehim Nametak, after the split in the leadership of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA]—explained to about 400 visitors their political program and election goals.

Most of the time was, however, devoted to the causes and consequences of the conflict in the leadership of the SDA. Adil Zulfikarpasic, frequently interrupted from the floor by criticisms that he caused the conflict in the party, stated that he is ready, together with the other dissidents, to return to the SDA if Alija Izetbegovic accedes to some of their conditions and an honorable agreement.

If Alija Izetbegovic is prepared to do this, I am prepared to continue negotiations and, in the interests of the unity of the party and the unity of the Muslim nation, bring about a reconciliation with him and return to the SDA, Adil Zulfikarpasic said, making this step conditional on a written assent by party chairman Izetbegovic to the agreement which they have already reached verbally. These words of Zulfikarpasic were greeted by stormy applause.

Loncar Speaks at New York CSCE meeting

LD0210102590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2356 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] New York, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—A new and different Europe is taking shape on the political map of the world, but it cannot be built without building a whole new world. The risks taken by the world are those taken by Europe, too, and an example of this is the Iraqi aggression on and annexation of Kuwait, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said in his speech in New

York on Monday evening at a ministerial meeting of the countries-participants in the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

This act is not only in contravention of international law, it is also a direct threat to global peace and security, Loncar added.

In Europe, increasingly frequent manifestations of extreme forms of nationalism are giving rise to concern, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar went on to say. Europe's risks lie also in a discrepancy in the development of individual parts of the continent and a threat that bloc divisions, which have been surmounted, might be replaced by other and no less dangerous divisions.

Many European nations have opted for the market economy mechanisms in which the discrepancy in development and social problems are manifested in a much sharper form. The principle of social justice and solidarity must therefore be reaffirmed, since they are not just mere ethical norms but also a precondition for building a united and stable Europe, Budimir Loncar stated.

It is natural that the CSCE, as an all-European democratic forum which has so far been an important factor of stability, should form the basis for the new edifice, the future common European home, Loncar stressed, and added that the forthcoming CSCE summit in Paris might be a historic turning point toward a new era of understanding and cooperation.

The document to be adopted in Paris should anticipate and channel development in the direction which will best reflect the interests of all European countries and nations. The work of the preparatory committee in Vienna is proceeding successfully, with the motto of the documenty for the Paris summit being "A democratic, peace-loving, and united Europe."

The document for the Paris summit should provide an answer to the question of how to replace the balance of power with a balance of interests. We welcome the successful outcome of the talks between the 23 CSCE states on talks on the first agreement on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe. It is important that all the CSCE states should continue this process. Yugoslavia is ready, Loncar said, to take an equal part in any future all-European negotiations on disarmament and security. Our aim is a balance at a as low a level of forces as is possible in all parts of the continent, and not just along the line of the now-defunct bloc division.

Yugoslavia considers it as a logical development that the document for the Paris summit should, in an appropriate way, include the unification of Germany as part of the process of building a united and stable Europe, Loncar said. Yugoslavia will also insist that the Paris summit looks into the close link between security and cooperation in Europe, and in the Mediterranean.

The positive impulses which have transformed the political map of Europe in less than a year are also being felt in the Balkans, where the process of constituting states in a democratic manner, something unprecedented in the more recent or distant past, still opens some old wounds, the Yugoslav foreign secretary said.

In the context of the protection and promotion of the rights of ethnic minorities, the Paris document may go further than the provisions adopted in Copenhagen, Loncar said, and urged a more explicit recognition of the collective rights of minorities.

Yugoslavia upholds the idea of institutionalization of the CSCE, as expressed in the joint document of the neutral and nonaligned countries adopted at their ministerial conference in Malta earlier this year, Loncar said. In this context, we urge a linkage of some European institutions, such as the Council of Europe, with the CSCE system, a gradual transformation of the European Community into an all-European project and body, as well as the creation of a European assembly, represented by the parliaments of all the CSCE participating states.

The Paris summit is expected to encourage, inter alia, regional forms of links and cooperation in Europe. Yugoslavia's experience in this area, especially within the newly formed "Pentagonal group," is undoubtedly very positive, Loncar stated.

Yugoslavia's goals are identical, in the regional sphere, in Europe, within the United Nations, and within the Nonaligned countries movement, Budimir Loncar said in conclusion.

Loncar Meets With U.S. Secretary of State Baker

LD0310103290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0545 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] New York, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker repeated last night what U.S. President George Bush had told Yugoslav President Borisav Jovic a day earlier—that America is interested only in a Yugoslavia as it is—an integral country—and that Washington desires cooperation with a country which has boldly set out on a course of political and economic reform.

Baker presented his views in a conversation with Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar during a break in the CSCE ministerial conference in New York.

Official U.S. State Department Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler last night pointed out that the United States "support the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia."

Tudjman Meets With U.S. Officials 24 Sep

AU0210094790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Compliments for Tudjman"]

[Text] Washington—On Monday [24 September], on the first day of his visit, Dr. Franjo Tudjman had the opportunity to hear what he had mainly come here for. This was particularly the case on Capital Hill, during his meeting with several congressmen and senators who did not spare compliments for him, his political party, and the federal unit which he represents here.

His separate meetings with Congressmen Broomfield and Hamilton (the staff of the former also issued a statement) and a 45-minute talk with leading Republicans, Bob Dole and Claiborne Pell, and seven other of their colleagues, were followed by assessments with which the guests from Zagreb could (with reason) be satisfied. In addition to paying compliments to Dr. Tudjman and his work, the hosts—in the conversation with journalists—assessed that the turnabout made in Croatia and Slovenia in the past year is "an example for Yugoslavia," and that the time has come for the government in Washington to start to "take appropriate stands" toward appropriate Yugoslav republics.

Bush Receives Croatia's President Tudjman 25 Sep

AU0210163890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 90 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Bush Received Tudjman"]

[Text] Washington, 26 Sep—Last night, U.S. President George Bush received at the White House Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, who is visiting the United States.

U.S. President Bush received Tudjman after the guest from Croatia had held talks at the White House with Brent Scowcroft, the U.S. President's national security adviser. As has been learned from well-informed sources, the meeting between Bush and Tudjman was a courtesy meeting. But even such a meeting, which followed persistent lobbying, achieved the aim of Tudjman's visit to Washington. Robert Dole, leader of the Republicans in the Senate, also took part in this lobbying.

Jovic Recounts UN Contacts, Early Return Home

LD0210123890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—"The session of the UN General Assembly is proceeding in an atmosphere of constructive cooperation in the world. This atmosphere reflects the spirit of a new era—an era of the beginning of a lasting peace and international cooperation."

This was said today at Belgrade airport by Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, on his return from New York where he took part in the UN General Assembly session and the World Summit for Children.

According to Jovic, the main accent in this year's session of the UN General Assembly was on the crisis in the Gulf, namely the invasion and annexation of Kuwait. A high degree of unanimity was reached as regards this issue. A similar atmosphere prevailed at the World Summit for Children. "The world is looking to the future, to the vital issues of its existence, in other words, to children and development. There is a new spirit [words indistinct]."

During his stay in New York the SFRY Presidency president had meetings with a number of foreign statesmen.

"All the statesmen I met in New York showed keen interest in Yugoslavia", Jovic said, adding "they all pay tribute to Yugoslavia for its foreign policy and also for our internal reforms. They all expressed exceptional interest in seeing Yugoslavia united but openly admitted to a lack of understanding of our problems over disintegration."

Dr. Borisav Jovic particularly dwelt on his last night's meeting with U.S. President Bush, "taking into consideration the importance of our relations with the United States and the influence of that country on world politics."

"President Bush voiced his gratitude to Yugoslavia for its foreign policy, especially in connection with the Gulf crisis. He said he hopes that we will continue with our constructive coperation in searching for the way out of the Gulf crisis, having in mind that Yugoslavia is the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement."

"The U.S. President was particularly interested in the situation in Yugoslavia, in the reforms which we are implementing and problems which we are facing. President Bush said very clearly and expressly that the United States solely supports a unified and integral Yugoslavia and that the United States, in the expression of its political stands, will support democratic changes in our country, but will also be against any kind of separatism."

There is an interesting aspect to SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic's return journey to Yugoslavia on a scheduled JAT [Yugoslav airline] flight. According to present knowledge, President Jovic is the first Yugoslav president since World War II to shorten his official visit to a foreign country because of the political situation in our country.

In this connection Jovic stated that "since World War II Yugoslavia has not faced such an internal situation."

"In New York we have completed most of the tasks in connection with our visit. But we postponed several meetings which were not of top priority because of the situation in our country. I believe that it was necessary for me to return to the country today," SFRY Presidency

President Dr Boris Jovic said immediately upon his return to Belgrade from New York.

Jovic Greets German President on Unification

LD0310101290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2249 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 2 (TANJUG)—On behalf of the Yugoslav state presidency and himself, President Dr. Borisav Jovic sent to Federal Republic of Germany President Dr. Richard von Weizsaecker, on the occasion of the German unification, a note of cordial felicitations and best wishes for the further democratic development of the German people in their new joint state.

Jovic expressed the conviction that the future German state would be a factor of stability and peace in the world and that it would substantially contribute to European cooperation in the realization of the ideals of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The Yugoslav president also expressed the hope that cooperation between Yugoslavia and the united Germany will develop in the spirit of mutual confidence, friendship, comprehensive and growing cooperation in the interest of the peoples of both countries.

Markovic Congratulates Kohl on Unification

LD0210134190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, October 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic has sent a telegram of congratulations to Chancellor Kohl on the occasion of the German unification.

Markovic expressed confidence that the relations between Yugoslavia and the united Federal Republic of Germany would develop in the spirit of mutual respect, friendliness and broad cooperation, and in the interest of the two countries' peoples and new, democratic relations in Europe.